

# The Nation

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## The Week

IT is a matter for profound regret that the American labor delegation recently returned from Europe did not succeed in arriving at a better understanding with the dominant elements in the British and French movements. There is no doubt whatever that the strongest political group in the world to-day standing squarely, intelligently, and uncompromisingly for the peace of President Wilson is the British Labor party. There are Tories and faint-hearted privilege-holders in every capital to-day who want peace, any peace, rather than revolution which they hear knocking at the gates. There are imperialists and jingoes who seek a peace by dicker and trade; in Berlin they demand a peace imposed by the mailed fist on a conquered foe. And in our own country there are the great mass of the thoughtless who are simply for fighting on to "inevitable" victory, without thinking of what kind of victory it is to be. In such a world President Wilson has spoken for the only peace that can prove permanent, a peace, in Mr. Henderson's words, of reconciliation and understanding in harmony with the principles of international justice and the right of nations to determine freely their own destinies.

FOR this peace British labor stands; on the basis of such a peace, and on that basis only, does it desire to meet representatives of the working classes from the Central Powers. They are solemn words in which Mr. Henderson seeks to combat the misunderstanding of this position by America:

We seek to unite the German people with us in an effort to overthrow militarism and imperialism, which is as much their enemy as it is ours. It is imperative that the German people should be made to realize in a face-to-face talk with representatives of the five democracies of the West that we will not submit to a German victory like that imposed on Russia, Ukraine, Rumania, and Finland.

If we cannot convince them that the triumph of their militarists and imperialists will permanently fasten upon the democratic nations, not excepting the peoples of the Central Empires themselves, the awful burden of armaments and compulsory service, there opens up a vista of unending war until civilization itself collapses.

Were we convinced that President Wilson's ideals were obtainable only by fighting, we would fight rather than accept a dictated German peace. We are not so convinced. There have been already informal conversations and conferences, secret, not open, and British labor believes that the representatives of the common people will seek every opportunity of settling the issues involved on the basis of a people's peace.

THE executive committee of the British Labor party has now voted to recommend to the annual conference of the party, which meets June 26, that the party truce be abandoned. This can only mean that Mr. Arthur Henderson and his associates believe that the Labor party is strong enough to take the initiative and pursue its own course. The only way for the party to increase its present strength in the House of Commons, save by the slow process of winning bye-elections here or there, is by declining to support

Mr. Lloyd George further, and precipitating a general election. There are reasons for thinking that large numbers of English voters would welcome a change, not because of dissatisfaction with the war, but because of a conviction that the present Ministry has gone stale. That the Labor party can hope to win seats enough in a general election to give it a majority in the Commons seems doubtful, but it is by no means impossible that it might hold the balance of power.

VIRTUAL abandonment of the plan to enforce conscription in Ireland is implied in the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant calling for 50,000 Irish volunteers. What the result will be depends upon too many uncertain factors to warrant any prediction. John Dillon is like his predecessor as leader of the Nationalists, John Redmond, in being heart and soul for the war against Germany. He has repeatedly declared that if Ireland had generous treatment from England, and were trusted, she would contribute her share to the British army. He and his fellows must now be aware of the feeling in this country, as also among Irishmen in Canada and Australia, that Ireland, uncoerced, ought not to hold back. It would clearly deepen sympathy abroad for Ireland's cause if there were to be a large and free outpouring of her sons to aid in the struggle of the world's democracy against the Prussian autocrats. On the other hand, the English Government has a duty which it cannot shirk. It must put an end to its vacillating and two-faced policy regarding Ireland. Above all, it must act promptly and justly in the matter of the Sinn Feiners accused of conspiring with Germany. The promise to make public the evidence against these men has not been kept. Meanwhile they are held in prison without knowing the crime with which they are charged. Until London acts so as to clear away suspicions and resentment arising from this course, it cannot expect that Dublin will change its attitude of sullen hostility to recruiting.

THERE appears to be little doubt that the United States Government, by its prudent and friendly course in dealing with the new Russia, has kept open the door for all the Allies. If they are to frame anything like a united Russian policy, they now perceive that they must follow the lead of President Wilson. The last number of *The New Europe* puts to the front an article asking bluntly: "Have the Allies a Russian Policy?" And the answer is a plain negative. The plan proposed by the writer is very modest. It would be to ask for a Constituent Assembly in Russia, and to agree in advance to recognize any Government which it might set up. This is evidently worlds away from the rantings of the *London Morning Post* and the *Saturday Review*, which have continually complained that England should never have allowed the Czar to be removed, and have insisted that the first duty is to place him back on the throne.

THE worst fears for the Jews in that part of Palestine still held by the Turks are being realized. Very meagre but fairly convincing reports of brutal deportations from

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the northern Jewish colonies come filtering through the Central Powers' double-barred gate of censorship. Hitherto it had always been said that the Turks recognized a certain kinship with their Jewish subjects and would never persecute them as they have persecuted the Armenians. But now the fallacy of such a statement becomes apparent. The Young Turks in control of the Ottoman Empire are animated by an insane chauvinism which drives them to exterminate all non-Turanian races within the empire, Jews, Greeks, Arabs, and Armenians alike. And worst of all, the Germans, who must be practically in control at present, place no obstacle in their way. Finally, therefore, the Germans will be held responsible for these Jewish persecutions. By their policy of playing Pilate they will have aroused against themselves the animosity of a powerful, intelligent, and capable race, inhabiting all parts of the globe, a race which will not forget an injury.

THE Government report on the wheat outlook is of a kind to gladden the heart. The estimated total crop, 931,000,000 bushels, is the second largest in our history. With favorable weather, the figure may become nearly or quite a billion. The spring wheat acreage, 22,489,000, is also the largest on record, although the estimated yield is slightly less than the record production of 1915. The outlook for oats is encouraging. There is no mistaking the meaning of the report. Good crops, even if the highest previous record is not exceeded, mean that the United States can continue, if necessary, to feed the Allies on the same scale as at present, and still have enough food for itself on a reasonably economical basis. We do not have to face the possibility of a general, even if slight, depletion of vitality, either in the troops in the field or among people at home, due to serious impairment of an essential part of the food supply. The prospect of a good harvest should make it all the easier to heed Mr. Hoover's recent warning to conserve, as carefully as possible, the stocks of cereals now on hand.

THE Federal Food Board the other day revoked the license of a White Plains baker for an indefinite period for failure to use substitutes in sufficient quantity in making coffee cake. On the same day it allowed a flour broker to contribute \$3,000 to the Red Cross instead of having his license suspended for thirty days. His offences were numerous and various: sales of flour without substitutes, excessive profits, resales within the trade—in fact, he was referred to as a dealer “who appeared to pay no attention at all to the regulations of the United States Food Administration.” The next day one of New York's most prominent restaurants was allowed to contribute \$1,500 to the Red Cross instead of having its license suspended for a week, for persistent failure to use substitutes. We have no doubt that in all three cases there was an honest effort “to make the punishment fit the crime”; yet somehow there appears a disproportion between putting a baker entirely out of business, thus presumably depriving him of his means of making a living, and letting two prosperous business concerns off with Red Cross contributions, when their offences, at least on the surface, appear much more serious. Or is there something specially heinous about the making of coffee cake? We trust that the Food Administration will punish violators of its regulations without fear or favor. If “food will win the war,” then wasters must not be allowed to help the enemy.

ALL the belligerent nations in Europe have practiced rotation of diet as one of the principal methods of adjusting food supply to food necessities. It has been cereals and potatoes from harvest-time to the exhaustion of stocks, and meat from that point to the new harvests. From June to August is meat and potato time. In the House of Commons last week the official statement was made that no development of the submarine menace can threaten the civilian population of the United Kingdom. That the rush of American troops has not monopolized Allied tonnage appears from the statement that “recently” no less than 457,000 tons of ham and bacon have been brought into Great Britain. Since Ireland is more than self-supporting, this means easily a two months' supply for England, Scotland, and Wales. And the steady development of agriculture in the British Isles makes them more nearly independent of outside supplies of food than they have been for two generations.

OUR shipbuilders, during May, launched 71 ships and delivered to the Government 44 vessels, completely equipped, an average of nearly a ship and a half a day, including Sundays. The record for the five months of the present year, while not quite so high, is still of more than one ship a day, the total being 170. Evidently, we are getting into our stride. Soon ships will be built faster than they can be sunk. There is something to be said also for the psychological effect of reading every morning of so many new ships, so much new tonnage. We are not yet out of the woods, and it would be foolish to begin hurrahing, but there can be no harm in a little quiet satisfaction over the headlines one sees nowadays in contrast with those that one used to know he would see the moment he found courage to open his newspaper.

THE Secretary of the Treasury's estimate, in his letter to Mr. Kitchin, that Government expenditure in the coming twelvemonth will be \$24,000,000,000, as against something over \$12,500,000,000 in the fiscal year ending with the present month, is possibly accurate. We say “possibly,” because the method by which the conclusion is reached is highly unscientific; being, in fact, based on the assumption of a regular and constant increase of \$100,000,000 in each month of the series. This may be exactly the result, or it may turn out to be the average, the rate of increase being larger than \$100,000,000 in one month and smaller in another; but it is manifestly a hit-or-miss method of calculating. The expenditure of April, for instance, was almost exactly \$100,000,000 greater than in March, but March itself reported disbursements only \$12,000,000 larger than in December, and the increase of May over April was \$292,000,000. This basis of estimate may be an improvement on the recent plan of assuming that all the appropriations would be expended in a single year, except for a purely arbitrary deduction. But it is not a proper budget, and it is as likely to err on the one side as on the other. This sort of preparation by a great Government for adjusting tax schedules to expenditure in the billions of dollars cannot fail to occasion irritation in a well-ordered business mind. It is high time Congress took the budget problem seriously in hand.

THE 70 per cent. excess over the hundred millions aimed at in the Second War Fund of the Red Cross bears out the theory that the more one gives, the more one is will-

ing to give. What will be the result after the necessity for these sums has passed? Will our quickened sense of pity and generosity show itself in gifts to the charities of peace upon a new scale? One reason for so hoping is to be found in the distribution of the Red Cross givers. The 47,000,000 formally recorded doubtless include many duplications, owing to persons having given in more than one place, but with all deductions, the number must be by far the largest ever reached for a philanthropic enterprise. It is no small gain to have it proved to one that he could "afford" to give for such a purpose, and the demonstration ought to have a permanent effect. Perhaps it is not too fantastic, also, to attribute something to mere delight in huge totals. We have been appalled at the figures of casualties, expenditures, and the like. But the pleasure of looking at good round sums like 47,000,000, representing givers, and 170,000,000, representing their dollars, must have counted not a little.

GOVERNOR LOWDEN, while disappointed over the acquittal in the Prager case, refuses to allow the jury to have the last word. What he says deserves to be placed beside the courageous utterances of other Governors in similar situations:

The local officials must see to it, not after the event, as in the Prager case, but before, that mobs be dispersed and punished, before they have a chance to wreak their vengeance. If juries will not convict in cases like this, the local authorities must prevent them from occurring. If in any community they fail in the discharge of this plain duty, nothing remains but to declare martial law in such community.

This is not a mere interview, but a formal statement issued to set the State right so far as the declaration of its Governor can do so. Corresponding with the duty of observing the orderly processes of the law is the duty of suppressing genuine opposition to the success of our arms. "The Federal officials within the State," says Governor Lowden, "must see to it that every charge of disloyalty or sedition be promptly investigated, and that the guilty be vigorously and severely punished." Investigation of charges, presumption of innocence until guilt is established, legal punishment of the convicted—it ought not to be necessary to recite these elementals of our system of justice at a moment when we are fighting for justice among nations.

DR. HANNIS TAYLOR in a brief against the Conscription law made statements which counsel for the Government thought "impertinent and scandalous." The Supreme Court of the United States agreed. But when asked to strike the brief from the record, it declined. "On the contrary," observed the Chief Justice, "we think the passages on their face are so obviously intemperate and so patently unwarranted that if, as a result of permitting the passages to remain on the files, they should come under future observation, they would but serve to indicate to what intemperance of statement an absence of self-restraint or forgetfulness of decorum will lead, and therefore admonish of the duty to be sedulous to obey and respect the limitations which an adhesion to them must exact." Here is wisdom which many lesser folk would do well to emulate. We can afford to neglect foolish and scandalous statements which are inevitably self-destroying. Yet for such statements men have been sent to prison for long terms, when at most they should be rebuked or sent to a psychopathic hospital for observation. But the passion for heresy hunting still lives.

It might be wisdom to set some of the heretics to useful labor on the farms. And an extra farm here and there might be set apart for the hunters. Some of them might be capable of really useful work.

THE war continues in its rôle of economic reformer. Its latest exploit is putting the employment of all stevedores on the New York docks under unified control—the service, needless to say, being conducted by a Government agency. Under the new plan of the Employment Service of the Department of Labor, the same arrangement will be extended to all the ports, the aim being to end labor unrest and insure a full quota of competent workers for all important ports. The evils of casual labor on the docks have been carefully studied by economists, and it has been satisfactorily demonstrated that so long as there is no central employment agency covering all divisions of a port, there is bound to be chronic unemployment, each dock tending to attract to itself a "stagnant pool of labor" large enough to meet its needs at its busiest time. Hence many of the longshoremen are certain to get only two or three days' work a week. The only remedy is to centralize the employing and distributing of such labor in the hands of a single authority—a remedy that has been attempted with notable success at some of the English ports, especially Liverpool. The result is a reduction in the number of workers required, with full employment for those retained. The whole thing is a matter of such evident common-sense that one wonders why it is not brought about everywhere—until he examines the practical difficulties in the way. It is to be hoped that the needs of the present time will bring this important reform into full effect at every port in the country. Once it is established, we may be sure there will be no going back to the old system.

THE war has brought to an abrupt end, for the time being, the interminable debate as to what constitute "proper" activities for women. We have discovered that any work which they can perform without injury to themselves is proper enough, and every belligerent country has hastened to avail itself of their strength and skill, whatever it may be. But experience has disclosed two additional facts. First, there are some occupations whose physical conditions or moral hazards make it impossible for women to perform them without injury. Second, the employment of women and girls in large numbers in industry makes necessary the provision of trained workers to assist employers in coping with the peculiar problems thus created—problems that most employers are quite unprepared to meet. To help supply the need for such trained workers, the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy, of Bryn Mawr College, with the cooperation of the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A. and the appropriate divisions of the Federal Government, is initiating a war emergency graduate course for the training of women industrial supervisors. This course, extending over eight months, will consist about one-third of lectures and seminar work and two-thirds of first-hand study and practice, under competent direction, in the actual working of industrial establishments. To meet the pressing demand for trained workers, courses will start in June, October, and February, and the first group of students are beginning their training with the present week. The experiment is one to be watched with interest; its importance extends beyond the period of the war.

## The Military Progress

PROGRESS has been made since the last issue of the *Nation*; for the grave German advance in Picardy has come to an end and the new offensive begun on Sunday between Noyon and Montdidier bids fair to be the weakest and the least effective of the four we have witnessed since March 21. Its initial gains give scant promise of straightening the line from Montdidier to Château Thierry, which would mean the taking of Compiègne, its forest, and Villers Cotterets, and would place the Germans, if they took Crépy, within thirty-five miles of Paris, perhaps even near enough to bombard the capital with some of the guns which have kept Dunkirk under a steady fire these last two years. Obviously it is a dangerous thrust which the Germans are now making, and if they were to succeed here to the extent suggested, it could not but have a profoundly depressing effect. Before these lines are in the hands of the *Nation's* readers, the result of this offensive should be known, and it will be surprising, indeed, if it is not stopped promptly. For if General Foch has any reserves at all, they must surely be between Compiègne and Meaux in readiness to protect Paris from a further thrust from Château Thierry or from the present line of attack, which had been indicated by various French experts as the probable point of the next assault. It therefore cannot be in the nature of a surprise to the Generalissimo.

Whether this offensive is even intended to be as serious as one as the other has not been developed at this writing. A feint is always possible, and despite what some critics have said, it is not yet known what the real objective of the German General Staff is. For the past week the writers have been turning towards the theory that it is Paris, which is being aimed at, but the danger to the Channel ports remains. It is, moreover, distinctly discouraging that with the French so hard pressed near Paris the British army can report nothing but little trench engagements and minor raids here or there. In an article just published in London General Foch has laid down the rule, to which the Germans plainly hold, that victory can come only to those who are prepared to take the offensive and see it through. If this is his belief, then it is plain that his strategy is to let the Germans exhaust themselves and, when enough American troops are at hand, to strike back. The difficulty is that it is not easy to say just how far the Germans should be permitted to advance. In the Aisne offensive the situation was critical more than once, as the French critics and press have freely admitted. It was like a football game in which there was danger for a moment or two that the runner might get quite through a broken field. In fact, the German tactics very much suggest football in that they are alternating their attacks and are driving first through one point in the line and then another, while compelling their adversaries' secondary defence to watch the point where the Germans made their heaviest gains before.

None the less, we repeat, it is progress to have held the Germans as they were finally stopped at Château Thierry and on the line near Soissons. There is apparently no jubilation in Germany over this offensive as over the previous one. At least there are no holidays for school children, no hanging out of flags, and the bulletins from the War Office have lately been lacking in the usual statements of the enormous amount of booty taken, while the number of prisoners has not gone

above 55,000—many less than were claimed in the drive on Amiens and the fighting in Flanders. It is the safety of France that a drive of these proportions cannot go on for more than two weeks; then human nature gives out, and with it the possibility of supplying food, artillery, and ammunition in the quantities needed. It must be tremendously discouraging in Germany to learn that her troops are still more than forty-five miles from Paris and that these terrible losses must continue indefinitely if the northern part of France is really to be overrun. The German General Staff may insist that what happened on the Marne was precisely what it had expected and desired, but there is bound to come a time even among the deluded Germans when something more worth while than what has actually been accomplished will be demanded.

Next, it is progress that American troops have entered the fighting and have acquitted themselves magnificently—but not one whit more magnificently than the American people felt sure that they would. In every discussion of American military problems during the last twenty years the *Nation* has insisted that, given good leadership, the American troops, the most intelligent and thoughtful and self-reliant bayonets in the world, would surpass any others in battlefield achievement. This proposition it now considers to have been demonstrated beyond question along the Marne. Not that it would advocate quite as much boasting as fills the columns cabled by many of the special correspondents; there is much still to be proved. We do not yet know whether we have any generals, whether we can operate alone on a great scale, as we must if the Germans are eventually to be pushed back, and whether we have a staff able to work out the tremendous details necessary in a modern offensive. But the gallantry and dash are there, and they are just as marked among the troops from one section of the country as another. As we read the lists of our fallen, we note an extraordinary number of foreign names, those of Poles, Austrians, Germans, Italians, French, Slovaks, etc., and as we note the report of their verve and aggressiveness, the question naturally suggests itself: "Are these men in any further need of Americanization?" Whether our artillery development is keeping pace with the infantry's or not, whether we have colonels and generals or not, it is now established that the enlisted men and the company officers are to be relied upon, and, after all, on the battlefield, this is largely a war of company officers. It is unfortunate that the Germans should have captured one of our great depots, with half a million shells and a thousand vehicles, but that must be more than offset by the knowledge the Germans have now acquired that the Americans will fight just as well as the Kitchener levies, which, too, they once affected to despise.

While this is to the advantage of the Allies, the grave fact remains that the German initiative does not seem to have been destroyed or the striking power of their offensive, and that they are steadily increasing the amount of French territory they are holding. If we must wait for the German offensive to exhaust itself before counter-attacking, we are in for a long war certainly, and if the Germans on the defensive will do but as well as the French, it must be many months indeed before they can be driven out of France and Belgium. As the days drag slowly by, there is no overlooking the fact that we are in the crisis of the war. The Kaiser's dictum that it must now all be settled by the sword is being put to the test.

## Financing the Cities

THE cities are our leading social welfare agencies, and few questions have greater immediate or ultimate importance to-day than that of their financing. The enormous demands of the Federal Government have already reduced some of them to the verge of bankruptcy, and with the prospect of a Federal budget next year of perhaps \$25,000,000,000, it becomes a grave question how the money is to be found for the essential services performed by cities and States and public service corporations, not to speak of local school boards, sanitary districts, and like organizations. Under our system of government, the administration of police, schools, parks, hospitals, sanitation, health work, water supply, transportation, lighting, and other essential activities, is for the most part financed by cities and States, or by corporations chartered by the latter. These services must not be sacrificed beyond the point absolutely necessitated by the national safety, for they are themselves important elements in national well-being. Hence the importance of a gathering like the National Conference on War Economy just held in New York under the joint auspices of the Academy of Political Science and the Bureau of Municipal Research, with the coöperation of the National Municipal League.

The emphasis on executive leadership, especially in budget making, was notable. If State and municipal activities are not to be starved, we must learn to impose on our executives the responsibility for planning and carrying them out. We have got to learn administration and responsible budgetary practice. Fortunately some of the States, such as New Jersey and Maryland and Illinois and Virginia, have already made notable advances in this respect. Congressman Medill McCormick's proposal for a Federal budget, discussed in our issue of last week, leads to the hope of something better than guesswork even in Federal finance. The staggering demands on the national Treasury and the enforced economies of State and city governments are likely to do more for this essential reform than would a generation of discussion.

Under our conditions, States and cities must raise funds either by loans or by taxes. The unexampled growth of Federal taxation is increasing the difficulty of the tax problem for the cities, and however sound their fiscal practice, they find it necessary in many cases to resort to loans to maintain essential services even on their existing level. But here comes a sharp conflict with the needs of the Government, which must largely monopolize the credit available. One of the most interesting features of the Conference was the statement of the views of the Capital Issues Committee made by Mr. Paul M. Warburg, vice-chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. First, every expenditure not directly helpful to the prosecution of the war, or absolutely necessary for the health and reasonable comfort of the people, ought to be abandoned for the time being. Capital, material, or labor for local purposes should be used only when results can be expected within a very reasonable time. Schools and hospitals should be built only where absolutely necessary, and additional facilities for providing water, light, and transportation should be postponed if in any way possible. Steel and men for ships, and not for subways, is the present principle. An additional reason for deferring all possible construction is the avoidance of unnecessary

price inflation, against which Mr. Warburg warned the Conference in the strongest terms.

Notable in this connection was the suggestion of Professor McBain that the cities should at once formulate an extensive programme of public works construction, to be put into effect at the end of the war during the period of demobilization, as a means of making up some of the postponed building, but especially of preventing unemployment. Said he: "In any case, better high municipal debts and taxes than widespread unemployment and distress; better the utilization of these appropriate units of our Government than the preservation of our cherished ideals of the Federal system and of home rule; and better anything than the unliquidation of a national obligation that grows larger with every day of continued war."

A gathering such as this serves to call attention to some of the less commonly recognized costs of war. During all of its deliberations there was unanimous agreement that we must make whatever sacrifices are necessary to achieve the great national end of overcoming the menace of militarism, and combined with this was the equally fixed resolve to utilize our capacities of intelligence and scientific planning to stretch to the utmost the sorely limited resources still available for creating good conditions of life at home.

We have simply got to go without whatever we can dispense with; we shall get sorely needed State and municipal improvements, on which depends the betterment of living conditions, only by taking thought in advance as to just how we can make our local governments true agencies of social welfare.

## An American Reconstruction Board

EARLY in the war Mr. Lloyd George, taking a long look into the future, appointed a Committee on Reconstruction, with authority to investigate and report upon any matter having to do with the restoration, reorganization, or development of the social and industrial life of England which the war might make necessary or desirable, and which the Committee might think it well to consider. The Committee, growing with its growth, became in 1917 the Ministry of Reconstruction. A number of valuable reports, prepared by committees created by the Ministry, have already been published, and summaries of their findings and recommendations have appeared from time to time in the American press. The French Government, shortly after the first invasion of France by the Germans, created a joint committee of the Chambers on the rehabilitation of the invaded regions, and devolved upon the Committee, also, the administration of an initial appropriation of 300,000,000 francs for the benefit of the stricken territory. In addition, regional committees, composed of economists and public officials, have been created for nearly the whole of France and are engaged in the collection of data and the preparation of reports on a wide range of subjects touching the commercial, industrial, and social needs of France after the war.

Why should not our Government create some such committee or board for the comprehensive study of reconstruction problems in the United States? Even the most complacent believer in the inherent superiority of all things American must admit that the war, whenever or in whatever manner it may end, will not leave the United States

unchanged; and, to most thoughtful observers, the coming changes appear to be numerous and far-reaching. No nation, and particularly no great and highly developed nation like our own, can go through such a world struggle as is now engrossing us and afterwards return quietly to its former ways as if nothing important had happened. A great war is at once a line of division and a point of departure. It marks, inevitably, the end of an old order and the beginning of a new. It exposes weaknesses and defects, relegates to the scrap-heap or the lumber-room antiquated methods and outgrown standards, turns industry into new courses, and makes novel and extraordinary demands upon manufactures, transportation, agriculture, and finance. The intellectual and spiritual life of the nation, as well as its material interests, yield to the revolutionizing influence of war. What is left is a new society, better or worse as the case may be, but with more problems to be solved than the war itself, whatever its course or its outcome, will by any possibility have settled.

Of such problems of reconstruction the United States is certain to have its full share. Take, for example, demobilization. Some day, we know, the war will end. Within a year or so after the peace, the majority of soldiers and sailors on foreign service will be brought home, and those at camps or stations in this country will be discharged. The number will be prodigious—some millions, probably, rather than thousands. How is the process of demobilization to be managed? How is the return to civil life to be carried out expeditiously, with the least possible dislocation of industry or disturbance of transportation, and for the best welfare of the men themselves? Where and how are these men to find employment? Shall they be given preference over workers who are already employed and rendering satisfactory service? Will their former places be held open for them? Will women workers be ousted in order that men workers may be reinstated? And what provision will have been made for the thousands of sick and maimed who can no longer compete with normal workers, but who nevertheless must earn their living?

The foregoing are only a few striking examples of the questions which, in England, the Ministry of Reconstruction is setting itself to answer, and which cannot too soon receive a unified consideration in the United States. The demobilization of the hundreds of thousands of workers who, so long as the war lasts, will be employed in munition plants and war trades, and who must be returned to peaceful occupations; the housing of industrial workers, already a pressing question in nearly all parts of the country; the status of women in industry; the demand for preference to organized labor in public as well as private contracts; the return of shipping to its former owners, and the regulation of new construction; the regulation, control, or ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones by the Federal Government; the assurance of a sufficient production and an adequate distribution of food and fuel; the maintenance of the high standard of physical health and morals whose necessity the war has emphasized; and the reorganization of education to make it serve the needs of a new nation and a new day, are larger illustrations of the fields among which the United States must be prepared, even now while the war is going on, to build anew on progressive, if not on revolutionary, lines.

To the solution of some of these difficult and urgent problems the Government has already, in a way, addressed it-

self. The fact that it has done so affords some reason for hoping that it will do more. There has been, for example, some sensible consideration of industrial housing, and of the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors. The trouble is that what is being done in these directions is as yet without a common point of view or a unified plan. What is needed, and greatly needed, is a centralized treatment of the whole body of distinctively reconstructive problems. There need be no difficulty in bringing such result about. Now that President Wilson has been empowered to readjust and redistribute the work of the various executive departments in any way that may seem to him most conducive to efficiency, the creation of a Reconstruction Board only awaits Executive sanction.

## Sorosis Then and Now

THE celebration by the Sorosis Club last week of its fiftieth anniversary passed almost unnoted. This was owing in part to the nature of the celebration. All that the Club did was to have a "Drama Day," and this, or something else, it might have had anyway. In fact, it did not so much celebrate as merely conclude its first half-century. The quiet of this event was in piquant contrast with the Club's rather sensational beginning. Feeling slighted at being shut out of the reception given to Dickens by the Press Club, which was composed of men only, a group of women writers, headed by "Jennie June," took the daring step of forming an organization of their own. The club represented no radical ideas about woman. There was not the slightest suggestion of what is called "feminism." Nothing in the action implied any demand for political or matrimonial independence. On the contrary, no mere man would have been more utterly shocked at the breaking of windows for the sake of getting the vote, or treating the marriage license as a scrap of paper, than the respectable women in the new club.

The sensation they caused was due simply to the fact that they were organizing a club for none but women. Through vast stretches of the country the very name "club" had about it an atmosphere in which careful mothers trusted that their daughters would never be. Women might have sewing "circles," temperance "societies," mission "bands," and so on, but a club—this was the final proof of the godlessness of New York. In this city there was less excuse for the excitement. A number of more or less well-known women writers had formed an organization literary and social, rather than religious or philanthropic. What was there in that to turn the world upside down? But it has always been New York's way to look to the provinces for judgment, and the temptation to insist that it had been true to its worst self by doing something wild was too much for it. "Sorosis" became a term for all that is "new" in woman.

Here one finds the larger reason for the unrippled crossing by Sorosis of its half-century line. If it had really been the leader in a great movement either not yet successful or triumphant, even the war could hardly have stood in the way of a distinct recognition, however unpretentious, of its importance. But its sensational appearance was not a true index of its character. It stirred up a deal of discussion. It received the final tribute of having an article of merchandise named after it. But the woman's movement, as we know it, developed under other leadership and spread over wider fields. Sorosis has had the odd fate of bearing the

odium of the innovator and missing the crown of the reformer. Born in the limelight, it has lived to see itself pushed to the wings, while the stage is filled with a mass of banners at many of which it shakes its head doubtfully. In spite of the increasingly rapid growth of the enfranchisement it definitely started, it has confined itself all these years to its original purpose. It has never had a clubhouse, but has met at various hotels, listening to poetry and essays by its members, engaging in dramatic work, and being active in philanthropy.

As sensational in its way as the founding of Sorosis is the fact that the fiftieth anniversary of that event coincides with the appearance of Tammany women district leaders. We assert no relation of cause and effect. But the fact is that half a century has been enough to span the distance between the first woman's club and the first women in politics in this city. Along the way the country has been amazed and amused by the spectacle of a woman running for President—but not very hard—and women campaigning for parties that denied them the vote. All these things so prepared it for eventualities that the actual election of a woman to Congress aroused less real surprise than many smaller occurrences preceding. New York's somewhat sudden surrender to the demand for the ballot made a much sharper impression. The influence of women upon our culture, observed with apprehension by visitors, and certainly as important as their political influence is likely to be, was attained without being aimed at. Yet it owes its strength in no small measure to the spirit of independence among women, whether organized in a Federation of Women's Clubs or not, and this was formally asserted in the founding of Sorosis.

## Hearst and the Control of the Press

THE movement against Mr. Hearst and his newspapers has plainly become a formidable one. If proof of this were needed, it would be furnished by the large advertisements, in such New York newspapers as accept his advertising, in which he sets forth not only how patriotic he is, but how his constructive suggestions are helping to win the war. But meanwhile the antagonism to him grows; it has flared up in New England and on the Pacific Coast, while in the suburbs of New York it has become a pastime to burn his newspapers. Some of the New Jersey militia is apparently taking as a part of its official duties the banning of his journals from certain towns in that State. The only check has been a decision by Justice Giegerich, of the Supreme Court of New York city, that the city authorities of Mt. Vernon are without the power to forbid the sale in their city of either the Hearst newspapers or the German-language publications, his reason being the provision in the Federal Constitution that there shall be no law "abridging the freedom of speech and of the press," and a similar provision in the Constitution of the State of New York.

Without having the slightest sympathy for Mr. Hearst, who has long been anathema to us, the *Nation* welcomes this decision, which seems to us sound in law and morals, if only because since our going into the war there have been so many cases in which freedom of the press and of speech has been abridged. It is, therefore, refreshing to get this

assurance that there still are judges who read our Constitutions. It is not reassuring to read of political bodies legislating against certain newspapers, however objectionable, and it is entirely disquieting to read of men in uniform dictating what their respective towns shall or shall not read. This stirs memories of our early Colonial days and of the straits to which some of our national heroes were put to circulate pamphlets in order to oppose authority when it controlled the press. But if the parallel should not hold, we should still be opposed to these methods of abating a public nuisance.

This Mr. Hearst is and has been for many years; we doubt if any journalist in history has blacker acts to his discredit. Certainly no American journalist has ever exercised such a malign influence; under his example, the whole press of the country has been debased. Even if it is true that his newspapers have become more conservative than in 1898, the mischief that they have done in lowering journalistic standards still remains. To him was largely due the country's plunging into the Spanish war, and it is not his fault that we are not to-day at war with Mexico and Japan in addition to Germany. There is nothing sincere in any position that he takes, so far as we have been able to discover. If his political views were invariably sound and patriotic, he would be still a public menace by reason of the low tone of his papers—it is surely not forgotten that a few years ago he was accused by *Collier's Weekly* of selling his editorial page for \$1,000 checks to theatre managers and that no effort was made by him to compel *Collier's Weekly* to retract its statements. He has long been a stench in the nostrils of all decent journalists, who have wished with all their hearts that the public might so turn from him as to compel his publishing a different kind of newspaper or his retirement from the business.

To them it is distinctly ironical that this outburst of public resentment, which seems even greater than that following upon the assassination of President McKinley, should be due to what may have been the lapse of an editor or of a make-up man—we refer to the omission of part of the President's proclamation praying for victory for the American arms—with which Hearst may personally have had no connection at all. These journalists look for good to come out of this turning upon Hearst, not because they wish to see aldermen and militia turned into public censors, but because they hope that the public will now realize what power it has over yellow journalists and how easily it can exercise that power—merely by refusing to purchase what is low and objectionable.

The truth is that Hearst's present troubles are due to very clumsy handling of his situation as well as to the positions he has taken. It is supposed that he was in opposition to the war up to the time that it was declared. Had he come out frankly and said so at that time, had he then stated that he would uphold the Government, and had he compelled wisdom and moderation in treatment of leading subjects by his editorial writers, he could probably have carried it off. But his writers were careless and inconsistent; the damaging extracts from editorials now being circulated show clearly that there is a lack of sincere and consistent editorial control which is perhaps inevitable if one such man chooses to direct eleven newspapers. As it is, he has pleased nobody except the few out-and-out pro-Germans; his bad record of the past and his notorious lack of sincerity have returned to plague him.

## On War

By ARTHUR SYMONS

THE last letter I had from Augustus John, written at an old château where he lives, inland from Dunkirk, and in the direct line to Amiens, where he often spends whole days, says: "I do not know when I shall be returning on leave. There is much to do out here. All is glittering in the front; amidst a great silence the guns reverberate. I shall take ages to get all I want done in preparation for a huge canvas."

In January he spoke to me in the Café Royal in praise of Constantin Guys, who, said he, had done certain wonderful war drawings. We were speaking then of Charles Baudelaire, who, in 1863, wrote an immense essay on Guys, named "Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne." His prose is tremendously amusing, paradoxical, cynical, subtle; and certainly much of this extravagant prose is fashioned out of Baudelaire's personality. Both shared the same desire to roam in the sun and air with vagabonds, to haunt the strange corners of Paris, to know all the useless, and improper, and amusing, the moral and the immoral, people who alone are worth knowing; to live, as well as to observe life, to be drawn out of the rapid current of life into an exasperating inaction: such things make for poetry and prose and painting.

It is in regard to these questions that I refer to Leonardo da Vinci, one of whose ideas was that the poet serves the understanding by way of the ear, and the painter by the eye, which is the nobler sense. He imagines a great painter representing the fury of a battle and a poet describing the same battle: and, when the two descriptions are shown to the public, you will see which will draw most of the spectators. And he imagines, if one were to paint a Deluge, to show not merely the fury of the winds mingled with the rain, but certain folk shutting their eyes, placing their hands over them, covering them so tightly as not to see the slaughter made of the human race by the wrath of God.

I abridge certain notes Leonardo wrote, under the name "The Way to Represent a Battle"; which I imagine are some of the notes he made for his huge picture The Battle of the Horses, now known to us only by part of one of his drawings. Show, he writes, how the smoke of the artillery is mingled in the air with the dust stirred up by the movements of the horses and of the combatants; the smoke will assume a bluish tinge; the combatants must be seen in the midst of the turmoil, and you must give a ruddy glow to the faces of the gunners. Then you make horses galloping away from the throng, make little clouds of dust as far distant one from another as is the space between the strides made by the horse, and show the figures in the foreground covered with dust in their hair and eyebrows.

Make the conquerors running, with their hair streaming in the wind; and when you represent any one fallen, show the mark where he has been dragged through the dust, which has become changed to blood-stained mire. Let a riderless horse be seen galloping with mane streaming in the wind, charging among the enemy and doing them great mischief with his heels. You must show some of the victims wiping away from eyes and cheeks the thick layers of mud caused by the smarting of their eyes from the dust. And the squadrons of the reserves should be seen standing full of hope but cautious, shading their eyes with their

hands, peering into the thick and heavy mist in readiness for the commands of their captain; but see that you make no level spot of ground that is not trampled with blood.

I have just lighted on some passages in an essay on Walt Whitman written by Robert Louis Stevenson that I am tempted to quote; for this reason, that they bring a certain phase of America immediately before one's point of view:

Whitman's intense Americanism, his unlimited belief in the future of these States (as, with reverential capitals, he loves to call them), made the war a great trial of his soul. The new virtue, Unionism, of which he is the sole inventor, seemed to have fallen into premature unpopularity. All that he loved, or hated, hung in the balance. And the game of war was not only momentous to him in its issues; it sublimated his spirit by its heroic displays, and tortured him intimately by the spectacle of its horrors.

To return to Guys, Baudelaire met the artist at the age of forty-eight; he designed like a Barbarian, then mastered all the tricks of his curious trade, in which his rich faculties displayed themselves. He was by nature a wanderer; and had then printed hundreds of engravings after drawings made in Spain and Turkey and the Crimea. A sinister drawing of his represents the battle of Balaklava; where he shows that heroic charge of the cavalry so splendidly recorded in ringing verses by Tennyson. A crowd of cavalry rush with prodigious swiftness to the very horizon between heavy clouds of the artillery. In the background the landscape is barred with a line of green trees.

Certain of the drawings show—as such an artist as Guys must of needs draw now—ambulances where the atmosphere itself seems sick, sad, and heavy; every bed contains a separate sorrow; sometimes, in the hospital of Pera in Constantinople, one sees, talking with some of the nurses, a visitor designated by this bizarre legend: *My humble self*.

I leave to Baudelaire his description of "le militaire." Such men, he says, have their beauty, like the dandy and like women with reputations behind them. "Accustomed to surprises, he is rarely astonished. The particular kind of his beauty ought to be a sort of warlike carelessness, a singular mixture of placidity and audacity; it is a beauty that derives its origin from the necessity of being prepared to die at any instant."

Coleridge, in his magical "Kubla Khan," wrote:

And, 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far  
Ancestral voices prophesying war!

But this prophecy, which Leonardo da Vinci wrote in Milan in the year 1499, named "Of the Cruelty of Man," seems to me to contain all that can be said on the Kaiser and on this gigantic war.

Creatures shall be seen upon the earth who will always be fighting one with another with very great losses and frequent deaths on either side. These set no bounds to their malice; by their fierce limbs a great number of the trees in the immense forests of the world shall be laid level with the ground; and when they have crammed themselves with food it shall gratify their desire to deal out death, affliction, labors, terrors, and banishment to every living thing. And by reason of their boundless pride they shall wish to rise towards heaven, but the excessive weight of their limbs shall hold them down. There shall be nothing remaining on the earth or under the earth or in the waters that shall not be pursued and molested or destroyed, and that which is in one country taken away to another; and their own bodies shall be made the tomb and the means of transit of all the living bodies which they have slain. O Earth! What delays thee to open and hurl them headlong into the deep fissures of thy huge abysses and caverns, and no longer to display in the sight of heaven so savage and so ruthless a monster?

# The Wilson Doctrine in South America

By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

THE ideals which were voiced by President Wilson in his message to Congress of December 7, 1915, concerning the relations between the United States and the Hispanic-American Republics, in reality constitute a Pan-American Monroe Doctrine. In the terminology which has sometimes been used with regard to other interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine by American Presidents, the principles enunciated by President Wilson in that message may be designated as the Wilson Doctrine. It is the purpose of this article to notice the reception which was accorded to that doctrine in South America.

On December 9, 1915, *El Comercio*, the most influential daily of Lima, commented trenchantly upon Wilson's message in an editorial entitled, "A Just Concept of the Monroe Doctrine." The editor pointed out that the Monroe Doctrine had occasionally been used by North American imperialists to justify acts which constituted infringements upon the sovereignty of the minor American states. He said that a "series of coercive acts" towards the small Spanish-American republics had awakened the people of Hispanic America to "the future inconvenience of a doctrine" which was liable to such interpretations. He affirmed that, because of those interpretations, certain reactions had taken place in Hispanic America against an "Americanism which was imbued with the Doctrine of Monroe," an Americanism which had been "stamped by the action of North American diplomats with an imperialistic seal and with the ink of commercialization," an Americanization which was unsatisfactory to the Hispanic-American peoples because of the stage of development that they had reached "and which was repugnant to the national consciousness of republics" that had been established because of a fervent desire to enjoy a hard-earned sovereignty.

To this desire for an independent life—apart from the financial tutelage of a foreign Power—the President of the United States has responded in this solemn historic moment, which marks the disruption of concepts of international law, with his important declarations concerning the real and unique value which the Monroe Doctrine may hold in its international applications. According to his declarations, the imperialistic policy—that policy which carried American soldiers to the coast of Mexico in battle array, which launched the American fleet against the Central American republics, and which produced the entire series of interventions and threats of interventions—has terminated as a norm of conduct in the international relations of the American States. As a substitute for that imperialistic policy, in the future a respect for all the rights of the Hispanic-American States, the fulfilment of all obligations, and that secure development under the palladium of peace and independence, which are promised by the principles of Monroe, shall become efficient verities—appreciable realities—because of their beneficial results, and not because of the peril which was threatened by the application of Monroe's conclusions to the independent States of America. Thus, with these declarations which place matters in a different light from that which illuminated them when American imperialism was developing with violence and threat for all the neighbors of the Republic of the North, President Wilson takes recourse in the axioms of justice, in the guidance of principles which were formulated to guarantee the independence of youthful nationalities—principles which, if he had entertained erroneous conceptions concerning the historic and positive convenience of nations, he might have used to strangle that which he ought to preserve.

Traces of a Pan-American spirit can indeed be found in the note of Señor Tudela, Peru's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on October 6, 1917, to Secretary Lansing announcing that Peru had severed her relations with Germany. Secretary Tudela declared that when the European conflagration spread to the American continent, Peru

was confronted by new duties springing from her passionate desire for continental solidarity. . . . It was the Peruvian Government's wish that the policy of the whole continent be a concerted ratification of the attitude of the Washington Government which took up the defence of neutral interests and insisted on the observance of international law. . . .

The leading daily of Santiago de Chile, *El Mercurio*, published President Wilson's Pan-American message on December 8, 1915, without comment. On the following day that newspaper contained an editorial entitled "The Message of President Wilson," which suggested that the policy enunciated in this message had been foreshadowed in an address delivered by ex-President Roosevelt in Santiago in 1913 and also in the message of the Chilean President to his Congress in June, 1915. But the editor said that, so far as he was aware, never before had an American President expressed himself "in similar terms concerning the policy of the United States in respect to the other countries of the American continent." He asserted that, on the contrary, "the pure Doctrine of Monroe had endured." He declared that the foreign policy of the United States had recently taken

a new trend in regard to the Hispanic-American republics. Her desire to gain the confidence of those peoples; her manifestations of deference toward them which have been repeated upon every proper occasion; and her recognition of their equality must dispel the last suspicions and influence their minds to favor a union based upon the conviction of a community of interests. The striking words of Mr. Wilson are the most explicit consecration of this new ideal.

In the autumn of 1916, Augustin Edwards, Chili's Minister in London—who in the political circles of Santiago has been favorably mentioned in connection with the Presidency of his country—gave an address in which he discussed Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. Said Señor Edwards:

Pan-Americanism is the régime of liberty, equality, and fraternity expanded beyond political and geographical frontiers and applied to the relations between people and people. . . . The nations of the A. B. C., Chili, Brazil, and Argentina, united by one and the same ideal and pursuing the same American ends, form with the United States the vanguard of Pan-Americanism, and these four nations, being stronger than the others of the American continent, are called upon to bear the greater part of the burden of responsibility which is entailed.

When, on February 11, 1917, the editor of *El Mercurio* commented upon the reply of the Chilean Government to the query of the American Ambassador in regard to its attitude towards the announcement of an unrestricted submarine campaign by Germany—a reply which stated that Chili's policy was in harmony with the juridical objects which were sought by the United States—that editor said:

By this reply Chili has fostered the integrity of American thought and she will give greater force to the diplomatic action

of the United States. And thus that Government will have secured the coöperation which it seeks in favor of world peace.

Significant extracts from Wilson's message were quoted in *La Nación*, of Buenos Aires, on December 3, 1915. On the following day this influential newspaper made comment in these words:

Upon few occasions has a President of the United States read in Congress so interesting a message as this. . . . From the peculiarly American point of view, the words of Mr. Wilson have singular importance; for in all of them there is clearly displayed the proposal that all the countries of this continent should follow the leadership of the United States in regard to the problems provoked in neutral countries by the action of the belligerent nations. But as the President feared that his words might be wrongly interpreted, he cautiously declared that the concept of Pan-Americanism does not contain any imperialistic spirit, but a spirit of legality, friendship, and mutual service. This same tendency towards a sincere and straightforward Pan-Americanism is one of the characteristics of the message of Mr. Wilson. . . . President Wilson does not confide solely in the character of his ideals or in the sanity of his proposals. A melancholy experience has taught him that force has power which can only be encountered by force; consequently he asks Congress to increase the military and naval forces of the great republic. Other points in President Wilson's message would be very worthy of brief comment, at least; but in reality that message speaks for itself. It is a document that does honor to the supreme magistrate who wrote it and to the nation to which it is addressed.

On December 10 *La Prensa*, of Buenos Aires, declared that the foreign policy of the United States was undergoing an auspicious transformation and was becoming Americanized.

We affirm that upon this grand theme the Americans have never listened to anything more lofty, more fundamental, and more authoritative than the message read to Congress by President Wilson. Among us the perusal of that message has produced a deep sensation and an immense satisfaction. With the eloquence peculiar to the publicists of the United States, he has formulated, without reserve, and with the accent born of mature convictions, the Doctrine which we have sketched, a Doctrine which has recalled memories of our own past. Although we have always cherished faith in the triumph of those ideas, we confess that we did not expect an authorized announcement of them in a form so striking and irrevocable. . . . In the annals of the American nations President Wilson's message will be a document as memorable and as transcendent with regard to their destinies as the message of President Monroe. Both messages symbolize concepts of American solidarity which differ just as the epochs differ in which they brought the continents closer together.

In April, 1917, when the President's message asking Congress to declare the existence of a state of war with Germany became known in Buenos Aires, a group of Argentine thinkers met at the home of the distinguished internationalist, Luis M. Drago, and sent a telegram of sympathy to Mr. Wilson:

Voicing the traditional conscience of our country, we respectfully present the homage of our admiration to the illustrious President of a sister republic who by his splendid message and by his policy has placed himself among the great emancipators of humanity and has become enveloped with the same aureole which adds splendor to the names of Washington and Lincoln. We declare our fervent adhesion to the principles proclaimed in this immortal document, which henceforth will be the device of democracy and liberty in the struggle undertaken against tyranny and absolutism, which have sought a refuge in their last bulwark, the Central Empires of Europe.

The *Jornal do Comercio*, of Rio de Janeiro, the leading daily of that capital, in an editorial entitled "American

Notes," on December 9, 1915, discussed favorably the policies of the United States towards England and Germany. This editorial considered Wilson's message to Congress mainly from the Pan-American viewpoint, and declared that it had great political significance.

The President, after declaring that the United States would never again conquer a single inch of foreign territory, and that the purpose of American policy was purely pacific, stated that under existing conditions it was impossible to avoid taking military and naval measures which were necessary to assure the tranquillity of that republic and of our continent. This discourse of the chief of American democracy should be considered by every statesman of Hispanic America. A statesman who detests war, and who has never sympathized with any form of militarism, has given a cry of alarm and has thus made known not only to the citizens of the United States, but to all the nations of the two Americas, that the revival of military imperialism in all the countries of Europe and the possibilities of future combinations of the military powers of the Old World—to-day separated by war but to-morrow perchance united by covetousness—make it indispensable that all the American nations should prepare themselves, without regard to sacrifices, for the critical moment when it will be necessary to protect our continent against the menace of European imperialism. In order that we may defend ourselves effectively against such a peril, it is not enough to accumulate armaments and to prepare the organization of military and naval forces. This part of the defensive programme is doubtless essential; but as an indispensable complement of that programme it is necessary to draw closer and closer the bond of moral, political, and economic solidarity among the American republics. By uniting the continent into a political, commercial, and financial unit, Pan-Germanism will accomplish the greater part of the programme of a defensive fleet. Against a united America the militarism and navalism of Europe will be impotent, and the gilded dream of oversea imperialists to sow the seeds of discord throughout our continent will be shattered.

On January 5, 1916, in *O Estado do S. Paulo*—a newspaper which has the widest circulation in Brazil—Alberto Torres, a well-known Brazilian writer upon international problems, published a trenchant article upon Pan-Americanism. In particular he took issue with the notion of closer relations between Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic America. He maintained that "physical structure, climate, races, languages, customs, inheritances, mental habits, cultures, and religions" were all obstacles to "any sort of rapprochement between those two sections of America." He declared: "Pan-Americanism" was

a creation of the imagination, a fantastic invention of the intellect. . . . For a long time Pan-Americanism remained a purely rhetorical decoration; empty of meaning, it airily took a place among the flowers of international rhetoric. On the other hand, the Doctrine of Monroe acquired an immense efficiency and an even greater potentiality. . . . Pan-Americanism is a formula of the international policy of the two Americas: Monroeism is a formula of a national policy on the part of the United States. At present, Pan-Americanism is no longer a dream of romantic politics: after repeated international conferences, after the creation of the International Bureau of the American Republics at Washington, after the expansion of the commerce and the industry and the financial institutions of the United States in Latin America . . . the Monroe Doctrine has become a faculty, a power, a privilege, of the United States, by virtue of which she is the only arbiter, without any restrictions, over all the territory of the two Americas. Such is the implied thought in the declaration and in the practice of that doctrine, in the form of its acceptance by other Powers, and in the interpretation of American internationalists. When the American nations are united by this international doctrine of Pan-Americanism—those nations will remain subject to the national doctrine of the United States.

A proof, however, that the Wilson Doctrine has found

acceptance in official circles in Rio de Janeiro is found in the note of the Brazilian Ambassador, Domicio da Gama, to Secretary Lansing on June 4, 1917, announcing that Brazil had revoked her proclamation of neutrality in the war between the United States and the German Empire.

While the comparative lack of reciprocity on the part of the American republics divested until now the Monroe Doctrine of its true character by permitting an interpretation based on the prerogatives of their sovereignty, the present events which brought Brazil even now to the side of the United States at a critical moment in the history of the world, are still imparting to our foreign policy a practical shape of continental solidarity.

Just as Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, may be used as a criterion by which to ascertain the sentiments of the rising states of Hispanic America towards the United States, so does Wilson's message of December 7, 1915, serve as a touchstone by which we may judge of the attitude of the Hispanic-American republics towards the United States in 1915-1918. The reactions which that message produced in South America indicate that there still prevail in that continent widely different views concerning the elusive Mon-

roe Doctrine. In certain cases there was a tendency to confound the Monroe Doctrine with almost any policy which the United States has pursued towards the Hispanic-American states. Towards Pan-Americanism, however, South American editors and journalists were, in general, tolerant and sympathetic. In regard to the Pan-American Monroe Doctrine there was little comment in northern South America; the most critical note was that struck by the Brazilian writer Torres, while the most approving tone was that taken by the great dailies of the A. B. C. Powers. The impressions gained by the writer during an extended tour through South America confirm the general view conveyed in this article, namely, that Wilson's Doctrine has struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many South American thinkers. The truth of the matter is that the formal enunciation of a Pan-American Monroe Doctrine by President Wilson evidently had a favorable influence upon the attitude of certain South American nations towards the policy pursued by the Government of the United States in regard to the lawless, ruthless submarine policy of the Imperial German Government.

## A Perilous Adventure

By HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL

THE skill and daring of our modern archaeologists is ever a source of astonishment and admiration to the layman, who watches with deep interest their excursions into what appear to him to be pathless jungles. What eagerness they display; what limitless imagination and insight; what marvels of interpretation! Their undertakings demand courage of no mean order; how much greater, then, the daring of a layman who ventures to offer suggestions in relation to the work of those whose keenness of vision merits such unstinted praise.

The archaeologist points out to us evidences of the existence of civilizations long since obliterated and altogether forgotten. Are we going too far if we assume that the processes which have led to these results in the past may recur; that in the course of the next hundred thousand years or so, for instance, a new glacial epoch may sweep over what is now the civilized world and leave no trace of the monuments that we take such pains to make permanent? Are we going too far if we assume that the gradual approach of the glacial flood will have brought death to the races we now know, through increasing poverty and disease; and that later on new and flourishing civilizations may be evolved from among those whom we call the backward peoples, let us say of Central Africa?

If archaeologists comparable with our own may be supposed to exist among the peoples of that distant time, they will almost certainly find occasional traces of our civilization. These will appear scattered over wide areas, as is the case with the relics of pre-glacial life that we find today. They will be likely to consist of some of our tools and implements which have been covered by the new glacial deposits, but which will have been uncovered by chance excavations, or by the cutting away of ancient moraines by newly formed rivers.

I find my fellow-laymen very generally assuming that the objects of art which are discovered by our archaeologists represent the highest artistic development of the eras

to which they are attributed. And I ask whether this assumption is warranted in view of human nature as we know it. How will men of our type act if such a calamity as I am imagining gradually comes upon them? So far as is possible, they will retreat before the oncoming ice flow. In so doing they will surely take with them those works of art which they value most highly, so far as they are transportable. It will be found, however, that a certain proportion of these valued works cannot be thus removed. Of those that can be taken many will be fragile and with difficulty preserved by a people that find the struggle of life predominantly important to them.

As a result of these conditions the archaeologist who studies such remains as may be later discovered will certainly unearth little else than works of art which in their day were not esteemed to be of the highest order of merit. Where catastrophe overwhelms some group of men suddenly some transportable works that they value supremely may by chance be left behind them in their flight; but surely a very small proportion of these will be likely to be in positions where the devastating ice flood will pass them by or leave them intact. Nor will these few precious things be likely to be found in the course of future researches; for in general there will remain no signs to guide the future archaeologist to their places of burial.

It seems to me reasonable, then, to assume that such remains of long past civilizations as are found by the archaeologists of our day should in general be taken as representative of cultures of a much higher order than would be indicated by the objects that are discovered, if considered in themselves; rather than as representative of the highest culture attained at the time of their creation.

Were our own land and city overwhelmed by such an ice flood as I have above referred to, would it be fair for the archaeologist of the far-away future to judge of our artistic accomplishment from the statues of "Sunset" Cox or of William E. Dodge which he might find buried beneath the

ruined buildings of the abandoned site of Manhattan Island?

We may picture the future archæologist, in his search among the moraines overlying the fair land that we call France, discovering the mutilated remains of a colossal statue on which he could dimly discern the name of the sculptor Barnard. If habits of thought then remain what they are now, some learned linguist of the day might well contend that, although the name was not characteristically Gallic, it was sufficiently like in formation to other names used by people of ancient France to warrant him in holding that the sculptor was a Frenchman; and he might strengthen his position by reference to some dim record which indicated that an artist of that name had gathered together and restored the scattered parts of a still more ancient temple of France that had been destroyed before his day.

Another might maintain that he had found evidence that this sculptor had gained world-wide fame; for he would tell of having unearthed a record in a land across what was once the Atlantic Ocean which seemed to show that a group of men who laid claim to high culture had vigorously contended that a special piece of work, perhaps the one in question, by a sculptor of this name, was a masterpiece.

Moreover, as men would then view the flow of time, the civilization of France which they had brought to view would be seen to be but part of what they might call ancient Mediterranean culture; and some still more adventurous soul might call attention to evidence gained from another source that the people of that ancient France claimed to be the one race of all those then existing that exemplified the culture of a still more ancient people known as the Greeks; and might argue that this statue might fairly be regarded as representative of the work of these unknown Greeks.

Another, indeed, might well urge, in rebuttal, that there seemed to be indications that these Greeks worshipped physical beauty; and that what was known as the Barnard statue could scarcely be believed to have represented an ideal of human beauty even among the primitive men living in those long past ages. But his opponent might call attention to a fragment of record which was attributed to a certain man named Socrates, otherwise unknown, but who was generally thought to have been a Greek, who had complained that the sculptors of his day did not sufficiently aim to express character, or, as he put it, "the energies of the spirit." Probably, then—he might argue—this Barnard statue represented the developed art of those Greeks as they turned their attention in this new direction. But this view would surely be met by a demand from some critic that the inventor of this hypothesis name the expression of character represented, holding that all that the Barnard statue could be said to express was the apotheosis of human ugliness. And so the merry war might go on. How false to fact such interpretations would be is patent; yet surely quite similar modes of reasoning are all too common among the less cautious of those who interest themselves in such matters.

I am especially concerned to call attention to the unwarranted assumption referred to above because of the current layman's interpretation of certain important archæological discoveries that have attracted much attention of late years. The mural decorations found in the uncovered palaces of Crete are certainly masterly in many ways. But when we consider the strength of convention which demands the reproduction from generation to generation of artistic forms that have been applauded by the people and famed potentates of the past, we appear to be utterly unjustified in

thinking of the works referred to as representative of the highest artistic Cretan culture. Would it be fair for the archæologist of the period subsequent to our pictured future glacial epoch to read the history of the artistic culture of the then obliterated Spain, in terms of what he discovered if he happened to expose the ruins of that proud example of Philistinism, the palace of the King at La Granja?

Or turning to the highly significant drawings of animals on the cave walls in France and Spain, is it not probable that they should be taken to indicate an artistic development of a very high order among a broadly cultivated people, rather than as the marvellous work of members of a race of barbarian primitives? There are numberless cave dwellings in France to-day, occupied by the very poor, the contents of which might well be left intact by a glacial flood such as we have depicted. Would the archæologist of a hundred thousand years from now be warranted in suggesting that what he found in these caves after the ice fields had again receded was representative of the culture of France as we know it?

These considerations lead me to offer, with all due apologies, a suggestion to the archæologist himself. So far as I have been able to discover, he finds no solution of the riddle presented in the very existence of the skilful portrayals of animal life above referred to. The only hypothesis that seems to be thought tenable is that they were made as votive offerings by barbarian cave-dwellers before they engaged in the quest for food supply, in the great forests where danger lurked in every shadow, or on the open plain where his chances of discovering his quarry were remote.

It is difficult to accept this hypothesis if one considers these wall drawings and paintings from the artist's point of view. When we study those in any particular cavern, we find that they appear to be the work of draughtsmen of imagination and skill of hand of a high order, such as would most improbably have been developed in any group within a primitive and barbarous people. They have a special "style" all their own: a movement of line which is quite as distinctive in its way as that of the Japanese or of the Dutch masters. They were evidently the work of a man who belonged to what we may broadly call a "school," who was, however, working under what must have been most abnormal conditions, if the hypothesis be entertained that their author was a member of a widely cultivated group.

My suggestion is that these caves were used as prisons; and that upon occasion some poor devil of an art student, who had become too dangerous to be allowed to remain at large, was incarcerated there, perhaps in solitary confinement, or perhaps with other criminal characters. What more natural, then, than that he should while away the tedious hours by sketching on any convenient wall of his rockbound abode, with such rough tools and materials as he could obtain, some of the forms he had been accustomed to portray in the studio of his master? This seems to me the more probable when I learn that a well-known exponent of "Cubist" art, who could gain no hearing in this country or in England, has found an eager audience among his English-speaking companions in a German prison camp; and consider that the cave-imprisoned art student of my imagination may have been surrounded by other prisoners, who were without resources within themselves, and who encouraged him because they found interest, or at least distraction from overwhelming ennui, in the outcome of his effort.

## Foreign Correspondence

### I. The Crisis in Holland

*The Hague, April 14*

HOLLAND is passing through a serious crisis. Hunger is at her door, and as no desperate fight for a noble cause can lend her nerve to face the intruder, she shudders at his stealing in. While trying to escape the contagion of war and its terror, she is infected by a worse plague from which, if she were fighting for her precious freedom, she would be immune. At the first pinch the masses have revolted, as if hunger could be frightened away by the smashing of windows and the howling of a furious mob. The bread-ticket, first issued for a term of ten days, was to last us for four days longer: thus Minister Posthuma, the Food Dictator, had decreed, and on the last day of that fortnight's fast the discontent broke out in several towns. The worst riots took place at The Hague. So little was the outbreak foreseen by the authorities that the rioters had free play for nearly twenty-four hours. Order is now restored, thanks to the arrival of troops that patrol the streets. But the aspect of the place is of a town besieged.

The Food Dictator is, of course, the scapegoat. If the requisition of our ships had not unexpectedly impaired our international position, the Second Chamber would before this débâcle have driven him into the desert of inglorious private life. During the week preceding the action of the associated Governments, the Minister had run the gantlet of a Parliamentary debate, in which the spokesmen of nearly all parties had bitterly attacked his administration. From the multiplicity of complaints brought against him two stood out conspicuously: Mr. Posthuma's amazing lack of foresight, which made him seem like a horse running behind the cart instead of pulling it; and his slackness in checking several cases of corruption which had been brought to his notice. Even the Socialists, who for more than three years had been among his staunchest upholders, disowned him in the most crushing terms, pronounced by no less a spokesman than Mr. Troelstra. The Minister is a clever debater, and if a gift for paradox could save a statesman's position, his would be impregnable. In order to prove the justice of his administration, he argued that it had not satisfied a single soul! Could ever impartiality receive a higher testimony? But not even the prospect of the coming elections next summer, nor the Socialists' fear of a possible succession of Mr. Posthuma by Mr. Treub, whose connection with the Economic Union is viewed by them with much distrust, would at this critical juncture have saved the Minister. But the requisition of the ships suddenly came to his rescue. The Premier, Mr. Cort van der Linden, who has always been his colleague's faithful champion and was anxious to secure his continuance in office, cleverly seized upon this opportunity. Playing upon the feeling of resentment which the embargo had aroused among this seafaring nation proud of its merchant fleet, he found eloquent words of protest which impressed the Chamber with a sense of the country's perilous international situation. Thereupon the leaders of the various political parties declared that they would not increase the Cabinet's difficulties by forcing a parliamentary crisis.

Since the first indignation has had time to cool down and

the whole question of the right of angary could be viewed in a less prejudiced spirit, a change of opinion, if not in favor, at any rate in extenuation of the British-American action has been noticeable in the comments of the press. *Het Handelsblad*, of Amsterdam, which had denounced the associated Governments in the strongest terms, reverted to the subject in a different tone and retracted its former strictures. In a lecture read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, Professor C. van Vollenhoven, a great authority on international law, pointed out that a just appreciation of the case was hindered by the traditional confusion of the terms "requisition" and "seizure," which since 1870 has prevailed among Governments and writers on international law. One instance of this confusion of terms is the argument that the British Government, in 1870, by not protesting against the sinking by the Germans of six English coal-ships in the Seine, had created a precedent for Holland's submission to the temporary loss of her ships. The British incident was obviously a case of seizure, whereas the late requisition of part of the Dutch merchant fleet amounts to a compulsory hire on specific terms. The United States and Russia in a number of treaties abolished the right of angary, and the British Admiralty, in the instruction for the fleet of 1913, rejected it in substance. It is a far cry from this denial of a right, to its exercise to its fullest, unprecedented extent, and the sense of injury done to our national pride cannot be reasoned away by an appeal to the letter of international law. But at least something has been gained if, by a less impassioned and more impartial discussion of this vexed problem, public opinion in Holland is saved from a general revulsion, which would bring to the Germans a moral victory of far-reaching consequences.

A. J. BARNOUW

### II. Science in English Schools

*London, May 14*

It is the war and its needs that have made us once again conscious of the nation's weakness in science. But it is for the sake of the long years of peace quite as much as for the days of war that some improvement in the scientific education of the country is required.

THESE words, appearing on the second page of the "Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister to Inquire into the Position of Natural Science in the Educational System of Great Britain" (London: H. M. Stationery Office), supply a full justification both for the appointment of the Committee and for the labor it has devoted to its investigations. The Committee was a strong one, with Sir J. J. Thomson, the eminent physicist, as its chairman, and several distinguished representatives both of the academic and of the business world among its members. It sat for forty-five days and has now presented its findings. The discussion covers a wide range, dealing not only with the main problems of science teaching in the schools and universities, but with such subjects as the relation of science to preparation for professional careers in medicine, engineering, agriculture, the chemical industries, and so on. Incidentally, too, it takes up such questions as the status and salaries of teachers as well as allied topics.

The most important phase of this large subject is, perhaps, the teaching of science in secondary schools. The Committee begin by calling attention to the "unsatisfac-

tory" fact that it is "impossible to form even a rough estimate of children receiving secondary education in this country or of the value of that education." This is due to the lack of statistical information respecting proprietary and private schools. In secondary schools that receive a Government grant, the regulations of the Board of Education require science teaching, including practical work, to form part of the normal curriculum. It occupies a position in no way inferior to that of any other subject, and, indeed, so far as work beyond the age of sixteen is concerned, there are more grant-earning schools providing organized instruction of an advanced kind in science and mathematics than in classics or modern studies. The chief difficulty is that so many of the boys leave school before fifteen.

Schools of the type just mentioned are largely of modern creation, and natural science had not in them to fight against long-rooted tradition in order to secure a standing. It was otherwise in the case of the old public schools (in the English, not the American, sense of the word). In 1863, so the Committee tell us, the only instruction in science at one of the greatest schools in England was given on Saturday afternoons by a visiting teacher, and his meagre apparatus was stored in so damp a cupboard that his experiments usually broke down. Gradually, however, "this Benjamin of subjects won toleration if not affection in the family circle," so far, at least, that to-day the great majority of these schools offer adequate opportunities for the study of science to those boys whose parents desire it. But they do not yet include science as a substantial part of the school course of every pupil. Most of these schools are organized into separate classical and modern sides. Clever boys tend to join the classical side, and here science receives scant attention, with the result that

many of the ablest boys who enter the public schools pass on to the universities ignorant of science and with little or no idea of its importance as a factor in the progress of civilization or of its influence on human thought.

Some of the criticisms passed by the Committee on Present-Day Methods of Teaching may possibly be of practical service outside the British Isles. For instance, we are told that the scope of the curriculum in science is often too narrow. "No boy should leave school with the idea that science consists of chemistry and physics alone." Further, the choice of subject-matter within these sciences is unduly restricted. The conventional subdivision of physics into branches such as heat and light is apt to lead to neglect of very important parts of the subject either because they are related to several of the branches, *e. g.*, the conservation of energy, or because they lie outside the customary divisions. Special emphasis is laid by the report on the importance of keeping the science teaching as closely connected as possible with human interests. The keen interest felt by boys in the application of science, such as aeroplanes, wireless telegraphy, automobiles, and the like, should be utilized to the fullest extent.

There are great advantages in introducing the study of the principles of science by starting from a machine or a striking physical phenomenon and working backwards to the principle, rather than by starting from the abstract and proceeding to the concrete. The advantage of the method is that the impetus due to a boy's interest in the subject helps to carry him through the lessons, while in the ordinary method interest may be aroused only after the lessons are nearly completed.

This is, of course, far from a novel suggestion as regards

the teaching of some branches of science, but in others it is evidently capable of much further extension. In another section of the report the Committee interpret in an even wider sense their own recommendation that science should be closely linked with "human interests." In a scheme they propose for science teaching to boys above sixteen years of age who are doing advanced work in other subjects, they suggest, for instance, courses (1) on the history of science, *e. g.*, the history of astronomy from the Greeks to Newton; (2) on the development of scientific ideas, *e. g.*, the constitution of matter, the conservation of energy, the doctrine of evolution; (3) on the lives and work of scientific men, from Leonardo da Vinci to Helmholtz; (4) on the bearing of scientific inventions on industrial progress; and (5) on the method and philosophy of science, historically treated, with special reference to the work of Aristotle and his predecessors, Archimedes, Galileo, Bacon, and the later experimental philosophers. This programme illustrates the attitude of the Committee to the conflict unwisely waged between partisans of science and those of the older studies. There should be no such conflict, but the teaching of science itself should be "vivified by a development of its human interest side by side with its material and mechanical aspects," so that

while it should be valued as the bringer of prosperity and power to the individual or the nation, it must never be divorced from those literary and historical studies which touch most naturally the heart and the hopes of mankind.

In relation to method, an important practical point is raised by the Committee's complaint that in most schools a disproportionate amount of time is given to laboratory work. A generation or two ago there was too little practical work in schools, but nowadays the pendulum seems to have swung too far the other way. Not only is there a tendency to neglect those sciences which do not lend themselves to experimental treatment in school, but even in physics and chemistry the work is too often restricted to those parts of the subject in which the boys can do experiments for themselves. Sometimes the performance of laboratory exercises has come to be considered too much an end in itself—a mere piece of drill, instead of part of a continuous scheme for building up a boy's knowledge of his subject. Sometimes a very imperfect experiment is done by all the pupils, when the point of it could be better brought out by a demonstration experiment performed by the teacher. "Much of this waste of time," say the Committee, "is due to a conscientious desire of the teachers to encourage the spirit of inquiry by following the so-called heuristic method." But, while the spirit of inquiry should run through the whole of the science work,

it seems clear that the heuristic method can never be the main method by which the pupil acquires scientific training and knowledge. He cannot expect to rediscover in his school hours all that he may fairly be expected to know; to insist that he should try to do this is to waste his time and his opportunities.

One of the most valuable services rendered by this report is in the distinction it draws between the different types of science curricula that should be followed according to the diversity in the needs of the pupil. For secondary schools the Committee contemplate three separate courses: (1) a general science course to be taken by all pupils up to the age of sixteen; (2) an advanced course for boys who begin at that age to specialize in science; and (3) a course

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in science for boys over sixteen who are specializing in some other direction. The Committee pronounce strongly against any specializing in schools below the age mentioned, and, even when the period of specialism begins, it should leave, in their opinion, at least one-third of the school time for the continuance of studies in other subjects. Thus, the classical or literary specialist should take one of the scientific courses summarized in a previous paragraph, and the pupil who begins at sixteen to specialize in science should keep up his French and German, his mathematics, and his English—of which subjects the last is the one most neglected at present in science forms.

All through the science course the greatest care should be taken to insist on the accurate use of the English language. The conventional jargon of laboratories, which is far too common in much that is written on pure and on applied science, is quite out of place in schools.

HERBERT W. HORWILL

## Correspondence

### An Open-Minded Policeman

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As you and Mr. S. Patterson (*vide* the *Nation* of May 25) and all of us are persons of open mind, we should be interested in what was said to me by an intelligent police officer in Richmond, Virginia.

"How," I asked, after the manner of idle tourists, "does State-wide prohibition work?"—and expected a bitter reply.

"Tell your folks up No'th, if they ask you, that one policeman in Richmond would rather cut off his right arm than go back to the old way."

It sounds dramatic; but he meant it, and he told me why.

GEORGE S. BRYAN

New York, June 1

### With Military Honors

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following extracts, from two letters from instructors in Atlanta University, revive one's faltering hope that the sacrifices of and for men of the negro race have not been made in vain:

One of our graduates, Carter N. Brown, a negro, first lieutenant in the National Army, died at Camp Dodge, Iowa. Carter Brown's friend, Lieut. Shaw, conveyed the body to Brown's home in Mobile and, as part of his duty, presented himself to Capt. Bulkley, the commander in charge of the white troops guarding Mobile Bay. By orders of Capt. Bulkley, a platoon of infantry acted as escort for the body of Lieut. Brown from the Franklin Street Baptist Church to the National Cemetery. When the funeral party came out of the church there were thirty-two white soldiers, chiefly Southern men, lined up outside. The salutes were given and returned without a trace of hesitation. The second lieutenant in charge, a white man, saluted and took his place at the left of Lieut. Shaw as of inferior rank. In this manner they marched to the grave, where the white soldiers carried out in every detail the customary military forms in honor of the dead, with salute at the grave and taps. This is perhaps the first time when a platoon of Southern white soldiers has performed this office in honor of a dead comrade of the negro race.

MARY WHITON CALKINS

Wellesley College, May 21

## A Question of Poise

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent "Missouri" may or may not be justified in his invidious comparison between our American "Society Butterflies" and the strenuous woman war-workers of Europe; *but*—I spent this sizzling Saturday afternoon at the Red Cross packing sweaters to go to Camp Devens, assisted by a young woman who, to reach the bottom of the deep case, pivoted on her stomach on its edge, heels in the air and hands and head in the box, and stayed so—an odd position for a roseleaf and an unlikely one for a butterfly, if long maintained.

Personally, I think it would be poetic justice if ever "Missouri" "gets his," which God forbid! (even in righteous resentment I remain magnanimous) for fate to contrive that he should "get it" through one of those Camp Devens sweaters.

M. A. A.

Boston, June 1

### The "Corocentric" View of Life

If I had all that I need for my own happiness, everything would be lacking still—the happiness of my neighbor.—ANDRE-MARIE AMPERE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The American soldier's comment on the American girl in your issue of June 1 called to mind the observations made during my long sojourn in this country. There are plenty of institutions nowadays where a girl can learn everything she wants or does not want to know—the Ionic of Homer and the Doric of Archimedes—but one thing she is never taught either at home or in school—that she has a neighbor. It takes a foreigner like the French physician in Janvier's "The Uncle of an Angel" to tell her bluntly to her face what a selfish creature she is. Years ago I was giving lessons in German to a Spanish girl and was greatly charmed with her loyalty to her task. Beautiful girl as she was—Regnault had painted her portrait—she refused point blank all invitations that interfered with the hour assigned to her lesson. What American girl shows such considerateness? A teacher of an angel—to use Janvier's language—is very often informed on calling that Minnie Adams or perhaps Lizzie Bigelow had walked off with his pupil to the movies. And how about Napoleon's famous *respectez le fardeau, Madame*? Has the American girl any consideration for the burdens we all of us are carrying in this world? "A young lady is the man of the hour," I heard a girl of fifteen say to her chum only a few days ago. There is no wickedness in it, simply the fact that an American girl's thoughts are so centred on herself that she has no time to think of anybody else.

All this may not be pleasant to hear, but as a great man—Michael Faraday—has justly said: "We often receive truth from unpleasant sources, we often have reason to accept unpalatable truths." I close with this appropriate text:

Ἀγάμεμνον, οὐδ' εἰ πέλεκυν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων  
μέλλοι τις εἰς τράχηλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐμόν,  
σιγήσομαι δίκαιά γ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων.

JOSEPH DE PEROTT

Clark University, June 8

## Let Missouri Show

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is to be hoped that our "Reflective Soldier" who hides behind the nom de plume of his State, "Missouri," will exhibit somewhat more of bravery and specific intention when he begins to exercise his functions on the field of battle than he shows in his weak innuendoes and uncertain criticism of the reaction of the "American girl" to the utmost exigencies of the war. If he is afraid to sign his own name, I fear he will be denied that "delight" to which he looks forward of being considered worthy of answer by "well-founded arguments." I certainly would not waste this good paper were it not that he represents a certain small class which, by indirect and anonymous destructive criticism, formulates an insidious propaganda. This self-confessed "embryonic opinion" it is well now and then to hold up to the light.

If "Missouri's" evening *causeries* enable him to translate enthusiastic appreciation of achievement, I commend him to official French publications detailing the accomplishments of American girls, and call his attention to the work now being done in Paris, Toul, Aix-les-Bains, Belfort, Souilly, Chaumont, St. Nazaire, Châlons, La Panne, and dozens of other places to which my interests as an aviator have recently taken me. I suggest that he consider the opinions and knowledge of the officers and men of his regiment, and if any recent visit to New York or Washington has left him with the conviction that the war is leaving "our youthful American womanhood unaffected," and that the American girl is "the most selfish girl in the world," I am forced to a suspicion that his nom de plume may conceal a Von, or a Fritz, or a Heinrich.

Let us by all means have honest criticism of ourselves, of our fellows, of our Government, if need be, but at such times as these, of vital world crisis, for God's sake let it be sincere, specific, and over the names by which we are known as responsible individuals to our fellowmen.

WILLIAM BEEBE

New York, June 4

## The War Raider

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A thousand years ago in the strong, grave speech of an England still young enough to dream of monster broods, a poet wrote the lines that are here translated unchanged except in tense and in the omission of some local details of the raids of a fire dragon on Beowulf's kingdom. The lines apply so weirdly to the terror that now flies in the English night that one is startled afresh with the sense of primeval things come back.

Long was the rule of the king; good were the people. But now a scather comes, flying in dark nights, compassed with fire, and earth-dwellers grow fearful. The people's foe rejoices in battle, in the work of strife, for his heart is swollen with rage. Glad is the stranger when day departs and he fares forth casting out flames, burning bright cities. The hated air-flier would leave no one alive. Far and wide is it seen how he ravages, how he hates and hurts the folk. Ere the breaking of day he hastens away, seeking his secret haunt. He puts his trust in his barrow, in walls, and in warfare—but in truth his hope shall deceive him! (Beowulf, II, 2279-2324.)

LAURA A. HIBBARD

Wellesley College, May 30

## Alliance vs. Federation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with interest the letter of Mr. William F. Woerner in the *Nation* of May 25 in criticism of my article on the British Empire and a League of Peace in your issue of April 4. I have reason to believe that the objections which Mr. Woerner urges are felt to be serious by a considerable body of those who really wish to bring about closer international organization in some form. They ask, why not work for federation at once rather than for the looser and less satisfactory alliance or mere understanding in foreign policy? I should never attempt to answer this question by arguing that an alliance is a better form of organization, ideally considered, than federation. The answer is that, as things actually are, it is the practicable plan, while federation is not, whatever may be the case in another century. I should like to urge any one who is disposed to argue for federation, and therefore against alliance, as a method of union, to try to put into form the working details of a federal constitution for an international government. If it is kept constantly in mind in doing it that the constitution must not merely suit one's own ideas, but work in actual practice and stand some chance of adoption under prevailing conditions, the experiment will be enlightening.

I do not read the experience of 1787 exactly as Mr. Woerner does. What the Federalists were working for was the practicable, not the ideal. If they had insisted upon a unitary national government, because it is ideally better than a federation, they would have failed. Politically the nation was not yet formed. It is doubtful if it is formed to-day to the extent necessary for a unitary government, though we have lately been making rapid strides towards it. If Mr. Woerner thinks it was in existence in 1787, the answer is the Civil War. What federation did was to allow the natural forces which would work towards a political nation free scope to do their best. It was largely against the result which these forces were accomplishing that the South revolted. The situation as to international union is much the same to-day as the American situation in 1787, except that the other elements of national existence, apart from the political, many of which made themselves strongly felt in 1787, are much weaker in our situation or do not exist at all. Our fathers could work for federation because of these elements of national existence. Lacking them, we can hardly hope to do so well as they. An international federal government is, I believe with regret, beyond our present possibilities, beyond the possibilities even of the British Empire. What we can do is to strive for some beginning of international organization under which the forces that will instantly begin to work for closer union can have free way to exert their full strength. A generation or two will then make a revolutionary change in the practical situation. In the meantime all argument for federation is argument for something less, as well, if that is all that can be had. All that I deprecate is such argument for federation as is hostile to less satisfactory forms of union, as divides the friends of union and insists that we must have the ideally better or nothing. That is the road of failure to get anything. In political affairs we must get what we can.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS

New Haven, May 27

## Two Poems

By CHARLES WHARTON STORK

### Standards

WHITE is the skimming gull on the sombre green of  
the fir-trees,  
Black is the soaring gull on a snowy glimmer of cloud.

### Sapphic Ode

YON white gull that skims by the pine-dark coast-line,  
Soaring now, now balancing, now descending,  
While his outspread wings on the sombre background  
Flash in the sunlight—

Is it skill instinctive or mere self-glory  
Bears him on? He well may exult in swiftness,  
But no thankless vanity mars his splendid  
Pride of achievement.

Be thou glad, oh poet, as yon white sea-gull  
Sweeps in joyous flight along rock and billow!  
But be His the glory, Who gave thy spirit  
Pinions of rapture.

## BOOKS

### A Walk Through Rome

*Æneas at the Site of Rome.* Observations on Æneid VIII.  
By W. Warde Fowler. New York: Longmans, Green  
& Company. \$1.50 net.

DR. WARDE FOWLER has added another to his many delightful books about things Roman. It is a curious fact that while there are numerous first-rate books in English for the cultivated general reader on Greek civilization—religion, art, archæology, literature, economic conditions—there are comparatively few good ones on Roman civilization. Of these Dr. Fowler's "Social Life at Rome in the Time of Cicero" seems *facile princeps*. He had the happy thought to begin with a walk through Rome, starting from Æneas's landing-place, and now amplifies Evander's walk with Æneas round the little settlement on the site of the future Rome. To us who are familiar with Piranesi's engraving of the Roman Forum as the Campo Vaccino, with the cattle feeding among the ruins, there is a piquancy in Virgil's lines, unfelt by the poet and his contemporaries. The New Yorker feels a thrill when he thinks of what the Bowery used to be, and why Broadway makes its devious windings. The Augustans, too, must have admired afresh the wonderful growth of Rome from the tiny prehistoric village to be the queen-city of the world as they heard how King Evander and Æneas

armenta videbant  
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis.

More than 1,000 years had passed since Evander's day, but no Augustan could have foreseen that in another 1,000 years or so cows would again be grazing in the Roman Forum.

Dr. Fowler says in his introductory note that he supposes that the eighth book is not a favorite with most readers

of Virgil. To some it has a special charm of its own. Like the seventh book probably coming early in point of composition, it seems, unlike the seventh book, to have had Virgil's own revision. The poet describes three imperial cities in the Æneid—Troy, Carthage, Rome. In the second book Troy looms large from the tragedy of its fall, and in the fourth Carthage from the love and death of Dido, but Virgil must have meant the Book of Rome to be as great as the Books of Troy and Carthage. In the case of Troy and Carthage he emphasizes the wealth and measure of material prosperity of the two mighty cities; here he seems to point the Roman to the ancient source of Roman greatness—scorn of wealth and luxury and devotion to country. The well-known address of Evander to Æneas—

Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum  
Finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis,

—of which Dryden wrote: "For my part, I am lost in admiration of it; I condemn the world when I think of it and myself when I translate it"—Dr. Fowler thinks has a special application to Augustus and his policy of avoiding ostentation himself and checking luxury in Roman life. Horace constantly exhorts in the same vein, with the same appeal to the ancient Romans as examples of virtue, and Livy too. Unfortunately in all ages the preaching of economy seems to have little effect, but Virgil teaches by examples rather than by precepts. The charming picture of prehistoric Rome is soon followed by the glorious description of the shield of Æneas, covered with scenes from Roman history, and in the centre the battle of Actium with Augustus as the emblem of Western civilization putting to flight Cleopatra and her Eastern hordes—surely as splendid a passage as can be found in the whole Æneid. But the gorgeous close must not make us forget the numerous other beauties of the book—the appearance of Father Tiber to Æneas in a dream, the charming description of the Trojans rowing up the stream and finally landing at Rome, where Evander and his young son Pallas are holding a festival to Hercules beside the Ara Maxima, and perhaps first and foremost Evander's tale of Cacus and Hercules and his cattle. This, says Dr. Fowler, "is among the best-told stories of the marvellous that literature can show. It reminds one of Wandering Willie's tale in 'Redgauntlet,' which has been called the best short story ever told."

This little book, like the same author's "Gathering of the Clans" (*i. e.*, the catalogue of Italian heroes in Æneid VII), will be read with delight by all lovers of Virgil, but it is to be hoped that it may inspire others to recapture their half-lost power of taking pleasure in Latin poetry. Virgil need not fear comparison with any poet; his place is secure beside Homer, Dante, and Milton, and no one will ever have the key to the innermost thought of any of them without a mastery of the language. Some people seem to think of Latin as an inferior sort of Greek, but each great classical language has its own message for posterity. "Nothing moves which is not Greek." "Nothing stands which is not Roman." Truly the Latinist has a goodly heritage, but then the true Latinist is also a Grecian. Dr. Warde Fowler says elsewhere: "I firmly believe that the one great hope for classical learning and education lies in the interest which the unlearned public may be brought to feel in ancient life and thought." If there were more Latin scholars like Dr. Fowler, Latin studies would not so often have to stand on the defensive.

## An English Political Biography

*The Life of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P.*

Begun by Stephen Gwynn, M.P.; completed and edited by Gertrude M. Tuckwell (literary executrix of Sir Charles Dilke). Two volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$10.50 net.

THE lives of politicians are becoming a larger and larger part of the data available for political history, as the number of biographies of all sorts of persons has been tending to increase. The speeches, letters, and diaries of those who have borne a prominent part in public affairs have of course considerable value. But so far from being necessarily a truthful record of events, they are often far enough from that. They doubtless represent what leading men themselves professed to believe and wished others to believe. They give us doctrines, programmes, arguments intended to impress the public. They show the "pose" which the statesman tried to assume. They convey an impression of the tone of political honor and morality which prevailed in his circle. In these respects they are good historical evidence. But they require to be used with caution and reserve. They are hardly more likely to present true views of the characters of those about whom a politician writes in his letters or diaries than are the speeches in which he denounces his opponents. In criticising the biography before us, it will be necessary to recur to this point.

The life of Sir Charles Dilke was quite worth writing, though it was only for a comparatively short period that he was a conspicuous figure in British politics. He was evidently a man of some remarkable qualities; and his career was one of the most singular that England has seen in our days. Born in 1843, the son of an English baronet of considerable wealth and social position, and brought up mainly by his grandfather, a scholar and antiquary of some attainments, he entered political life with every advantage. He passed through Cambridge University with distinction, having won the first place in the degree examinations for law, the subject which he preferred to classics and mathematics, though he did not mean to choose it as a profession, having no need to earn money. His activity in the University Debating Society and his general industry and push made him very well known in the University, a useful preparation for political life. Shortly afterwards he started on a journey round the English-speaking world, going first to North America and travelling across the Plains from the Mississippi to San Francisco—this was in 1866, before any railroad crossed the continent—thence to Australia and New Zealand, and afterwards to India. What he observed was recorded in a book called "Greater Britain," which had a rapid and striking success, making his name well known to the general public. In 1868 he entered the House of Commons as member for Chelsea and enrolled himself among the then small group of Radical politicians who were sometimes supporting, but quite as often criticising, the Liberal Administration of Mr. Gladstone. Making his mark both by his remarkable assiduity and by the knowledge of many subjects which his tireless industry had enabled him to accumulate, Sir Charles Dilke soon proved himself destined to high office, and when Mr. Gladstone, after the interval of Tory dominance from 1874 to 1880, formed a Liberal Government in the latter year, he was given the difficult and important place of Under Secretary

for Foreign Affairs. Here the familiarity with foreign politics which his travels and his studies had given him secured for him a steadily widening influence in the country as well as in Parliament, and he increased it by his skilful treatment of the newspaper press, which he cultivated, and often inspired, with unceasing care. He seems to have been the first British statesman whom it greatly helped to rise, though Palmerston, who belonged to an earlier generation, had cultivated the good will of Delane, the famous editor of the *London Times*. Dilke's closest ally was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and after the former had been admitted to the Cabinet in 1882, many people thought that one or other of them would lead the Liberal party when Mr. Gladstone retired, and therefore become Prime Minister if that party should then hold power.

These years were the acme of Sir Charles's career. Everything promised him a long and brilliant future of influence and fame. But in 1885, just before the general election of that autumn, a sudden thunderbolt of fate blasted all his prospects. He was made co-respondent (*i. e.*, co-defendant) in a suit for divorce. The petitioner (*i. e.*, plaintiff) was a gentleman moving in the same social and political world to which Sir Charles belonged, and the petition charged the latter along with the wife whom the petitioner (whose suit succeeded) sought to divorce. Some few pages of this book are devoted to this case, which the biographers, as biographers are supposed to be in duty bound to do, try to place in the light most favorable to their hero. The arguments adduced, too intricate and technical to be here summarized, are ingenious, but not convincing. They would require the reader to attribute to British courts of justice opportunities for doing gross injustice, through mere technicalities of procedure, and of thereby ruining an innocent man's career, which those who know something of those courts cannot believe to be probable. The opinion of the great bulk of the legal profession in England, which, of course, followed the trials (for there were two) with that curiosity which the misfortunes or faults of prominent social figures never fail to excite, did not acquit Sir Charles. Neither did the general opinion of the public. He lost his seat in Parliament at the general election, and though he succeeded in reëntering the House of Commons some years later (1892) for another constituency, he was never again invited to join an Administration. Nevertheless, he would not abandon public life. It was the life he loved. Aided by the wife whom he married after the first trial, a talented and high-spirited woman, he continued to assert his innocence, and when again in Parliament spoke constantly upon questions of foreign and colonial affairs, military matters, and labor legislation, knowing so much about all these topics as to command attention. He was a frequent and often a severe critic of the conduct of both parties, holding himself to some extent aloof, but showing more active sympathy with the new Labor party than with either Tories or Liberals. He died in 1911 at the age of sixty-eight. Some thought that he would have taken a more prudent course if after the two trials he had withdrawn from the public eye and gone to travel abroad for some years. Thereafter he might have returned to start his career afresh when the troubles of 1885 began to be forgotten. The same remark was made afterwards in the similar instance of Mr. Parnell. In the case of both men, whether the decision they took was wise or unwise, it was impossible not to admire the fortitude and perseverance they displayed.

The parts of this biography which have most value for the student of history are those which deal with the foreign policy of England from 1870 to 1900. There is a great deal in Sir Charles Dilke's diaries, and something in his letters also, about English parliamentary politics, debates in the Houses of Parliament, dissensions and intrigues in the Cabinet, combinations of groups outside the Cabinet, which those few Englishmen who survive from Dilke's generation may peruse with interest. But to the general reader, and of course incomparably more so to the American than to the British reader, nothing is more flat, stale, and unprofitable than bygone Parliamentary or Congressional schemes and intrigues. It is only when some figure of real distinction, such as was Sir Robert Peel or Mr. Cobden, Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone, comes into the foreground that these plots or controversies gain a sort of attractiveness as revealing the qualities and habits of persons who will be remembered when the smaller fry have been forgotten. This book contains many personal anecdotes and still more of personal criticism. Of the anecdotes many seem to be far from authentic, for they conflict with what is known from other and better sources. This is particularly to be said of the anecdotes given in the chapter entitled Table Talk, some of which are certainly untrue. Of the criticisms, many are acrid and seem to reflect personal annoyance or dislike. The picture of the personal side of British Parliamentary politics which the work presents is not altogether attractive, but, attractive or unattractive, there is much in it the truth of which must not be assumed merely because it appears in print and comes from one who was behind the scenes. Its authority does not approach that of such biographies as Lord Morley's book on Mr. Gladstone or Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's on Lord Granville or Mr. Barry O'Brien's on Parnell or even that of Mr. Bernard Holland on the Duke of Devonshire, politically biased as this last-named writer may appear to be in his own reflections.

When we turn to the parts of Sir Charles Dilke's Life which relate to the politics of Europe, they deserve a somewhat different judgment. Dilke's views have in many cases been shown by the result to have been mistaken. That, to be sure, may be said of the views of all statesmen. Sometimes, as in the various phases of the Balkan and Near Eastern Questions from 1876 onwards, he erred from a tendency to take a middle and compromising course when a clear decision and a bold policy were called for. But whether he was right or wrong, his views and the arguments by which he reached them were always worth considering, for his knowledge was quite unusually wide, and he took pains to think things out for himself instead of accepting the notions current among politicians. He had, moreover, come to know a great many men of fame and authority in foreign countries, particularly in France, which he loved to visit and where he often lived, having a villa in Provence, which he occupied for some months in most winters. With Gambetta he was intimate. Some of the most interesting references in the book are devoted to that remarkable man whose fall from office and premature death he deplored as a terrible loss to France. Unfortunately he left no full characterization of one whom he thought the most powerful orator of his generation, although "vulgar in language and appearance, one-eyed, of Genoese (possibly Jewish) race." Notices of Bismarck, whom also he knew personally, of Challemeil Lacour, Count Peter Shuvalov, and of other foreign statesmen famous in their day, are scattered about the book. We

hear less in it of America than might have been expected, considering that Dilke had been twice there, but he kept an observant eye on the course of events in that continent, as well as upon those of Australia and South Africa. One of the most creditable parts of his multiform activities was the zeal he showed on behalf of native races both inside and outside of the British Dominions. He bore a leading part in pressing for the interference of the European Powers in the administration of the Belgian Congo, where the aborigines were shockingly ill treated under the régime of King Leopold. He died three years before the outbreak of the present war and does not seem to have foreseen that catastrophe. But it does credit to his prescience that he should have in 1890 strongly opposed the cession of Heligoland to Germany by Lord Salisbury, then British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, an act which has turned out most unfortunately for England by enabling Germany to strengthen immensely her naval bases in the North Sea.

Of his books, by far the best was the first, "Greater Britain." The conception was excellent, the execution had freshness of manner, the information was mostly new to the British public, which up till then had cared too little about its colonial possessions and had known strangely little about the United States. "Problems of Greater Britain," published in 1890, after another journey round the world, is distinctly inferior, heavier in style, and with less novelty in its matter. He projected many other books, including an elaborate "History of the Nineteenth Century" from 1814 onwards. But literature was scarcely his *métier*. He had some humor, but not enough imagination to make his style interesting. His mind was neither creative nor constructive. He could collect facts and could comment upon them with much acuteness, but had not the faculty of grouping them in an effective perspective and drawing from them large generalizations.

Perhaps he was also always too much occupied with current events and too fond of reading widely and exploring many paths at the same time to have produced any work either of permanent value or of literary charm. It would appear from some references which he made himself on his own speeches that he recognized in them an element of dullness. Well informed and useful as they seem to have been, they lacked eloquence and that sort of impressiveness which may be obtained, where eloquence is wanting, by the force of sincerely ardent conviction. It was remarkable that two men, both so lacking in oratorical gifts as Sir Charles Dilke and the last Duke of Devonshire (often mentioned in this book under the name of Lord Hartington), should have gained the position they held in the British House of Commons. The latter, however, had the advantage not only of the power which in his time still attached to immense possessions, but of a masculine force of intellect which went straight to the kernel of every subject and never employed any but the most solid arguments. His mind, as he said himself, and as is remarked of him in this book, was slow moving. But it was sure, and there was never any mistaking what he meant, whereas Dilke's thought often seemed to waver and to dissipate itself among secondary details.

The interest of these volumes is almost wholly political; for though many prominent figures in English and French society flit through its pages, we are told hardly anything about the literary men or the artists whom Dilke knew and entertained. Moreover, he remains to the reader, in spite of the enthusiastic admiration of his biographers, a strange

and rather inscrutable figure, considerable as were his talents, and as would seem to have been the attraction which, according to this book, he continued to exert on the more advanced spirits of that new generation into which he lived on, adapting himself to its semi-Socialistic ideas and aspirations in a way which few elderly men find possible.

## American Diplomacy

*The Principles of American Diplomacy.* By John Bassett Moore. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$2 net.

SO many contributions to the discussion of American foreign policy have been made during the last few years by gentlemen whose first acquaintance with the intricate subject of foreign affairs appears to date from about July, 1914, that it is a particular pleasure to greet this scholarly account of American foreign policy from the hand of a writer whom the initiated consider perhaps the best-informed and most sagacious counsellor in foreign affairs to whom our country can lay claim. His long and intimate association with the Department of State from the time when Bayard was Secretary of State, his skilful conduct of our foreign policy during the Spanish-American War and his invaluable participation in the negotiations which led to the resulting treaty of peace, his frequent calls to the service of the Government, his professional activity as counsel in important cases, and withal his profound research whose fruits now serve as mines of information to students of international law and diplomacy—all these give to his literary productions an authority possessed by few treatises on foreign affairs.

The book now under review is, in effect, a revised edition of a work first published in 1905 under the title "American Diplomacy: Its Spirit and Achievements." A new chapter on Pan-Americanism is added to the new edition, together with much new matter occasioned by the course of events since the publication of the earlier edition. There has been no change, however, in the beauty of the style and diction; in the penetrating analysis of motives and policy underlying governmental declarations; in the concise presentation of the opposing arguments in support of conflicting contentions by the use of apt quotations skilfully worked into the text; in the clear definition of issues; and in the vivid unfolding of the story of American achievement in the realm of foreign affairs, by an account of its contributions to the development of particular principles and doctrines. The book is by no means a chronological history of events. It deals in independent chapters with the great problems and subjects with which our foreign policy has been identified, and within these chapters presents with some degree of chronological order the events and solutions of issues through which the fundamental principles of our diplomacy have been developed. This is history as it should be written. One might wish that in his account of recent events the author had more often favored us with his opinions; but in controversial matters of current interest one must usually be satisfied with a correct and dispassionate presentation of opposing contentions, giving the reader an unhampered opportunity to draw his own conclusions.

In his Introduction the author draws in brief outline a vivid picture of the close interrelation among four of the principles, non-intervention, neutrality, recognition, and the Monroe Doctrine, which, the author points out, "down to a

comparatively recent time . . . were regarded as practically immutable." He says:

Of the principle of non-intervention the system of neutrality was a logical derivative, as was also the recognition of governments as existing entities, and not as legitimate or illegitimate, or as lawful or unlawful, under the local Constitution. The Monroe Doctrine itself was but the correlative of the principle of non-participation in European affairs. "Our first and fundamental maxim," said Jefferson, "should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs." By preserving these principles, it was believed that the United States would best contribute to the preservation of peace, abroad as well as at home, and to the spread of liberty throughout the world.

The chapter on The Beginnings presents an account of the earliest efforts of our diplomats, who were among the founders of the republic, to provide a place in the international family for the then recently born United States. In the chapter on The System of Neutrality the author shows how the complicated problem of preserving our existence during the bitter conflict which raged between England and France during the last decade of the eighteenth century was solved by the sagacity and firmness of Jefferson and Washington, and how from those decisions the United States developed those principles of the law of neutrality which, gradually adopted by other Governments, constitute one of our most important contributions to international law. In this chapter there is also explained the traditional American policy of the immunity from capture of private property at sea and the obstacles which its advocacy by the United States has encountered (p. 63). The chapter concludes with a striking account of the events which led up to our entrance into the present war. Among the great contributions of the United States to the development of international freedom of commerce and navigation were the consistent efforts of our Government on behalf of the freedom of the seas, not only in time of war, but also in time of peace, and the removal of monopolistic commercial restrictions, whereby lasting benefits have been conferred on the world. These efforts are discussed in chapters 3 and 5. The determined stand against the exactions of the Barbary pirates after long acquiescence therein by Europe, the insistent contention that American vessels are exempt from search at sea by the ships of foreign Powers (except by consent of the United States, *e. g.*, in the suppression of the slave trade), the successful protest against the Danish Sound dues (p. 121), the Panama Canal negotiations (p. 123), the adoption of the principle of commercial reciprocity in overcoming the monopolistic colonial restrictions which our early commerce encountered (p. 159), the skill of American diplomacy in opening up to trade the secluded empires of the Far East (p. 173)—all these constitute landmarks in the development of our own and of world trade and of American influence in international affairs. The North Atlantic fisheries and the Bering Sea controversies are described in chapter 4, on Fisheries Questions.

The principle of non-intervention and the Monroe Doctrine have been conceived as fundamental in American diplomacy. The development of the former, which guided the United States during the wars growing out of the French Revolution, and its subsequent application in the Kossuth affair; the exceptional position assumed with reference to Cuba; the application of the rule as to recognition of new governments, namely, by the test of their substantial control of the country and their actual existence as gov-

ernments, a corollary of the doctrine of non-intervention, and the "distinct phase" recently entered upon by the substitution of the test of the "lawful" method of creation of new governments; and a correct account of the recent Mexican difficulties and the evolution in application of the Monroe Doctrine, are among the principal subjects discussed in chapter 6. Chapter 7 is devoted to the doctrine of expatriation, of which the United States has been a liberal proponent. Unfortunately some of the European countries have not adopted the principle of freedom of expatriation; the Bancroft treaties, however, concluded with the North German Union and with other Powers (1868-1870), constitute epoch-making documents in the development of our foreign policy. Chapter 8 deals with "international arbitration," to the development of which as a practical institution the United States has made notable contributions. Curiously, by the restrictions now placed upon it by the Senate, it is more difficult to bring into operation to-day than it was a century ago. The "territorial expansion of the United States," the growth of the movement for "Pan-Americanism," and the "influence and tendencies" of American diplomacy are the subject-matter of the concluding chapters.

It is impossible within the space of a book review to emphasize the many striking observations of the author. Suffice it to say that the work is marked throughout by a keen insight into the true meaning of events and their relation to policies both past and present and by a charm of expression which commands admiration. It is the book of a realist, not of an emotionalist.

## Balkan Neighbors

*Balkan Home Life.* By Lucy M. J. Garnett. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. \$3 net.

A MASTER hand is needed to untangle the intricacies of the Balkans. Chaotic as are the actual conditions in those rugged mountains, they are even more confused in the mind of the average American. Miss Garnett, from her long study of the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and the borders of the Ægean, does much to straighten out our misconceptions. Had the publishers provided a map, the book would have had even more value. The wealth of material which Miss Garnett has here assembled might furnish a volume on each of the peoples she describes—the handsome Schyipetars and fierce Albanian women of the mountains, the nomad Wallachs, the thrifty Bulgarians, the clanish Macedonian Greeks, the town-bred Osmanlis.

Each nation is studied separately in its social, moral, and religious expression. A brief history, with a touch of early legend, introduces each group, whose characteristics are further emphasized by detailed description of housing, dress, habit, occupation, popular traits, leading beliefs and superstitions, with the customs pertaining to birth, marriage, divorce, and death.

The contrasting types and varying beliefs of these distinct groups are strikingly depicted. It is surprising to learn, for example, that while among the Bulgarians it is a sin to give alms to an "infidel," and no social intercourse exists between the Greeks and their Turkish neighbors, and the prejudice against mixed marriages is naturally very great, yet among the mountaineer Albanians

Christian men marry Moslem women, and vice versa; the sons being brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters

in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; while Christians resort reciprocally to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments.

With remarkable ease and clarity Miss Garnett sets forth the result of her observations. In dealing with each nationality she is fair and friendly, and her prejudices, if she has them, remain unspoken. To us living in a wide land where the levelling achievement of the commonplace is held by many to be desirable, it is well-nigh incredible that these tiny nations should have preserved such intensified contrasts, such glaring individuality. Even their superstitions seldom coincide.

If an Albanian, for instance, be afflicted with the "evil eye," he eats mulberry buds and must be sprinkled with "unspoken-over water" (which has been drawn from a fountain and carried home in utter silence) in which three nettles have been dipped. But if it is a Bulgarian who is the victim, he must pour water over three pieces of red-hot charcoal in a green dish, while he makes the sign of the cross, drink some of the water, wash his hands in the rest, and pour it on the ground.

Among the Bulgarians the witch-woman is the most important person in the village. She it is who poultices the head of the new-born baby with an omelet of eggs, oil, and pepper! Among the Greeks the witch-wife is held in equally great estimation. "Like the witch of Theocritus, she makes use of the magic power of moonlight to compose her spells and potions . . . crouching . . . over her charcoal brazier, droning mystic incantations."

The Greeks have managed to save much of their old tradition and respect for learning, even through the dark centuries of enslavement, and it is interesting to know that "the excellent Greek schools at Salonica are by no means institutions of modern foundation, for it is to the public-spirited munificence of a lady of the sixteenth century, Kyria Kastrissio, that these schools chiefly owe their origin."

In Salonica is still a remarkable group of women, known as Phanariots, the descendants of the noble Greek families of Byzantium, famed for their culture, accomplishments, and public spirit, as well as for their familiarity with Homer and the tragic poets. Not the aristocrats alone cherish the love of ancient Hellas; a humble family (not mentioned in Miss Garnett's book), arriving from Salonica with the early Greek emigrants to this country, numbered among its eight sons Alcibiades, Themistocles, Miltiades, Alexander, and Leonidas.

Of the Turks Miss Garnett tells many interesting things—particularly of the ladies who carry on the slave trade—but nothing is more picturesque than the little Osmanli child's first day at school:

Dressed in his holiday suit and bedecked with all the jewels and personal ornaments which his parents possess or can borrow for the occasion, his little fez almost concealed with strings of gold coins, pendants, and pearl tassels, and various little objects worn as charms against the "evil eye," and his finger-tips tinged with henna, he is mounted on a superbly caparisoned horse, and led in pompous procession through the streets of the neighborhood. In front of him his future instructors walk backward, slowly and gravely. . . . Behind him an elder boy carries on a silken cushion a copy of the Koran, to know which holy book by heart entitles a youth or maiden to the honourable title of Hafiz. . . . Behind these come all his future schoolfellows, walking two and two, and chanting verses said to have been composed by the Prophet extolling the pleasures of knowledge, exhorting to love of one's neighbor, and inciting to industry.

## The Immortal West

*The Man from Bar-20: A Story of the Cow-Country.* By Clarence E. Mulford. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company.

*The Fighting Fool: A Tale of the Western Frontier.* By Dane Coolidge. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

*Bruce of the Circle A.* By Harold Titus. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

*The Sheriff's Son.* By William MacLeod Raine. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

IT was nearly half a generation ago that Owen Wister in his preface to "The Virginian" declared that the day and the life of the cow-puncher were past, and had then been past for some time—since the eighties, to be specific. "What is become of the horseman, the cow-puncher, the last romantic figure on our soil?" he asks a little sadly. We seemed to have assisted at a final rite: the last tribute had been paid to the Virginian and his kind. But if Mr. Wister and the world of reality were done with him, not so the world of fancy. The last word, in a sense, had been said; for "The Virginian" remains the perfect cow-boy story, the classic of the old-time range life. If one could take all the plains stories that have been told since and boil them down and get the strong and sound essence of them, it would turn out to be, in substance, something very much like Mr. Wister's famous romance. But one thing is sure: the glamour of the wild Western theme is by no means exhausted for the public of the movie and the smoking-car. Here is a fresh grist of fables in this "line." The author of "The Man from Bar-20" has done a number of them heretofore. His recipe is plenty of bloodshed, and humor without quarter. He musters a galaxy of wits: sheriff, rustler or cowboy, possessor or victim of "the drop," at ease or desperately wounded, all maintain a dreadful gayety, a codified whimsy with which we have grown all too familiar. The frightful and delightful profanity that is supposed to garnish this wit is here thrown into relief by the obsolete usage of dashes. We suppose a page peppered with d—ns and h—lls still has its awful charm for ingenuous readers. . . . It is too plain that this is simply a thriller ground out for the market, without any sort of legitimate interest or satisfaction for any one—least of all, one must suppose, for the author. Johnny Nelson, the "two-gun man," who comes into a strange country and after much fighting overcomes a large band of rustlers single-handed, is the sort of hero who used to be peddled for a dime, but now runs to linen covers and sells for a dollar and a half. Yet paper is costly! "The Fighting Fool," to tell the truth, records the adventures of a similar hero with a similar job. From a far range comes to the town of Hackamore, Arizona, one Sycamore Brown, valiant and careless youth, to take the post of deputy marshal and help in the subjugation of an unruly band of cow-punchers who have a habit of shooting up the town. This task is performed without excessive pains or bloodshed; whereupon the town marshal, Lum Martin, with the aid of a bad man from Texas and the ingenuous Sycamore, turns train-robber. The three make a successful haul from the usual express car, and bury their loot. They are tracked by a local sleuth of parts, but make their escape over the line into Mexico. An Indian chief has a beautiful daughter who has been educated in a mission school and is at least worthy of the infatuated Sycamore. There is a deal of

lively business, chiefly horse-play and gun-play, to be gone through with before Sycamore earns immunity from the law by capturing a real desperado (Mexican), and thereby wins something like a safe future for his dusky bride.

The element of "heart-interest" becomes less perfunctory in "Bruce of the Circle A" and "The Sheriff's Son." A heart should be tangled somewhere in the lariats that decorate the covers of both these volumes. The contrast between East and West, vice and wildness, the tenderfoot and the knight of the plains, is here as usual. In "Bruce of the Circle A," the beautiful girl of the East is in a dilemma between her deboshed and degenerate husband and chivalrous Bruce Bayard, who takes after Mr. Wister's Virginian and sedulously lives up to his name. It is clear from the first page that the only way out for everybody concerned is to have the wretched husband put out of the way. But it is equally plain that it will not do for Bruce Bayard to do this. He, in his wild generosity, undertakes the task of reforming the husband for the sake of the wife. But of course she is really held to that wastrel by a sense of duty, and gives her heart promptly enough to the beautiful cowboy with the beautiful name. After there has been a sufficient pother of cross-purpose and minor action, an executioner turns up for the wicked husband, and our lovers are in the way of being happy. Alas, Ann Lytton is a doll and her husband a bogey of straw; so that it is difficult to accept the breathing might and virtue of the Bruce and the Bayard. In "The Sheriff's Son" the situation is the other way round, the son of civilization destined to woo the daughter of the wilderness. Royal Beaudry, to be sure, is the son of a bold man of the West, a sheriff of the cow-country who has at last been forced to face too many "guns" at once. But Royal has been reared and educated in Denver and goes back to his father's old stamping-ground as a lawyer with a new shingle. He has inherited his father's physique, but his mother's physical cowardice. At once a duty is thrust upon him, as his father's son, which involves bold deeds among the very men who have done for the sheriff. Chief among them are the Rutherfords, half-outlaws, who dwell, Doone-like, in a mountain fastness with a lovely maid among them. Lorna-like she is not, however, being of the haughty and independent sort—a Lorna, one might say, to date. She is, of course, for Royal Beaudry, after he shall have vanquished his nature and gained repute as a bold and dangerous man as well as an honest one. As for the Rutherfords, they are not to be left altogether on the wrong side of things. The story has somewhat of characterization—is in every way better "written" than the others. Young stuff withal; but youth will be served.

### Contributors to this Issue

ARTHUR SYMONS is one of the outstanding figures in the modern British literary movement, distinguished alike for his work in the field of poetry, drama, and literary and artistic criticism.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON is assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois.

HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL, architect and psychologist, is one of our best-known writers on matters artistic and aesthetic.

## Notes

IN the near future Longmans, Green & Company will publish: "The Passion and Exaltation of Christ," by Reverend Francis J. Hall; "Hindu Achievements in Exact Science," by Benoy Kumar Sarkar; "Coöperation in Danish Agriculture," by Harald Faber.

The forthcoming publications of Boni & Liveright include: "The Inferno," by Henri Barbusse; "The Gilded Man," by Clifford Smyth; "Free and Other Stories," by Theodore Dreiser.

THE French Government has established in Paris a Library and Museum in which will be collected all the material needed by the historians of the present war. The authorities hope to collect in this country all the information relating to the activities of the United States, whether governmental or private, since the beginning of the conflict in 1914, and especially everything that relates to the part taken by the United States in the war itself since the declaration of war in 1917. The history of public opinion during these eventful years is almost as important as the narrative of military and governmental activity. As funds are very limited, the French Government will appreciate the contribution of documents and periodicals bearing on this subject. Back numbers of the *Nation* would be particularly appreciated. All material may be sent to the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Guerre, care of Professor Adolphe Cohn, Columbia University, New York city.

IT has become the fashion to predict the doom of the small college; and there has been much to justify such a prophecy. Many of the small colleges of a generation ago have expanded to proportions that rank them with the colleges of our major universities; and others are striving by transfusions of quasi-vocational curricula to overcome a growing anæmia that bids fair to extinguish their pretensions to collegiate standing. Haverford is one of the fortunate few that have succeeded in remaining small without losing character. Through early decades of struggle with scanty income, as well as through more recent years of profusion of resources, this little Quaker school has held unpretentiously but steadfastly to liberally interpreted cultural ideals. And the strength of the institution has never been greater than it is now. President Sharpless, in "The Story of a Small College" (John C. Winston; \$2), writes in a tone that is temperate and self-effacing, but with a quaint humor and fitness of proportion that singles out significant aspects of college life and development. He tells a modest story of genuine progress in the practical application of vital educational ideals. Student numbers have never reached two hundred; but there has ever prevailed a recognition of the importance of means to ends. In the early days, student discipline erred on the side of excessive paternalism, and the importance of the æsthetic was too little recognized. There was a "Cromwellian attempt to enforce habits and conduct by authority"; not even a piano found its way into college halls until 1895. But the generally liberal spirit of the institution gradually lowered the barriers of formal tradition. The success of Haverford has not been spectacular; but the story of its growth leaves an impression of exceptionally well-rounded educational attainment. In adequacy and beauty of equipment and surroundings,

in the scholarly standing and personal force of faculty members, in size and wise allocation of productive endowments, in helpful quality of alumni interest, and in wholesome vigor of student life, no college can show more harmonious, if not more loudly heralded, accomplishment. President Sharpless has handed to his successor an institution restricted in numbers, but spacious in the amplitude of its provision for student needs.

ONLY years will reveal the effect of the war on the teaching of English in college and high school, but what promises to become one of the most important results has already made its appearance. It may be seen in Foerster and Pierson's "American Ideals," in Gauss's "Democracy To-day," in Watkins and Williams's "Forum of Democracy," in Long's "Patriotic American Prose," and most notably in the War Information Series of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, North Carolina). Two numbers, "American Ideals in American Literature," by Professor Edwin Mims, and "National Ideals in British and American Literature," prepared by a committee of the English department at North Carolina, are significant. The purpose of these syllabi is not to study literature as an art, or as recreation, or as a revelation of personality, or for other time-honored reasons. The purpose is to find in literature a reflection of national ideals. Professor Mims's pamphlet seems to have been somewhat hastily prepared. His analysis is largely chronological. In the text he makes references to articles which nowhere appear in the bibliographies. In the bibliographies he introduces as Americans such hitherto alien authors as H. G. Wells and Thomas Carlyle. Another evidence of haste is the proofreading—he misquotes, for example, so recent a title as Dewey's "Democracy and Education." The committee's syllabus on "National Ideals" is more thorough. Five chapters trace the evolution of national ideals in English literature up to 1914. A sixth runs through American literature in the same way. The concluding two reveal the relations of the war and democracy in contemporary writings. The significant feature of this syllabus is that it will lead students to approach literature with what will be for most of them a new point of view. Both the notes and the lists of writings will direct their attention, not incidentally, but continuously and with concentration, to disengaging the changing ideals of the nation. Both of the syllabi will help to disseminate among students of our English literary heritage a deeper and more reasoned faith in the brotherhood of the future.

IN spite of the present general recognition of journalism as a calling for which students should be trained in much the same way as for the learned professions, there is still too prevalent an impression that the country weekly is out of the reckoning. M. Phil C. Bing is one of the few teachers of journalism who have seriously undertaken to show the error of this theory. His little volume, "The Country Weekly" (Appleton; \$2 net), is one of practical instruction rather than of idealistic or abstract reasoning, and takes up such topics as the gathering and digestion of rural news, the upbuilding of neighborhood correspondence, the function of the editor as a commentator, the make-up of the printed sheet, the field of advertising, and the method of determining costs so as to discover whether a paper is earning a profit or not. Several of these topics are dealt with in sufficient detail to start the mind of the manager of a coun-

try weekly moving in definite directions, without crippling its originality. A typical chapter, in some respects the best in the book, is that entitled Local News. It is so comprehensive as to touch upon a score of elements expanded in later chapters. News values, for example, are classified under seven general heads. The chief news sources in a village are catalogued with such completeness that the intelligent conductor of a weekly there would have no excuse for neglecting to skim the cream off all the subjects. Mr. Bing adds a sort of calendar, showing what had better be done on the day the paper appears, and what on each day following till the publication of the next week's issue; this systematizes what is usually left to haphazard suggestion. In an appendix he lays down a series of rules for what printers call "style." He also makes an honest effort to improve the quality of the English used in the country weeklies. In view of the interest he obviously takes in this branch of his work, the purist must regret to learn from the body of Mr. Bing's text that certain wrong things "are being" done, that "we should likely think" so-and-so, and that "all the subscribers do not" find the editorial articles of much value.

A NEW edition of Joseph Schafer's "A History of the Pacific Northwest" (Macmillan; \$2.25) is welcome. The States of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington compose the subject and terrain treated. These communities are growing more important very rapidly; and a distinguishing problem in their growth, of which notice is taken here, is the marked sectionalism of each community. In western Oregon the conservatives, in eastern Oregon the radicals, live and fight, just as in eastern Virginia the great slave-holders for a hundred years defied the radical democracy of western Virginia. In Washington the two sections eye each other with suspicion and hostility. In Idaho it is the north against the south. A similar situation once existed in Illinois, in Maine, in South Carolina, and in Mississippi. While this feature of Northwestern history is pointed out, the discovery and settlement, the problem of the northern boundary, the economic development, and the social changes receive due attention. The long-maintained view that Dr. Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the United States is definitely abandoned, although the services of the martyred missionary in the upbuilding of the Northwest are highly appraised. Three new chapters are added, and these are among the most interesting in the book, for men now like to know about social changes and political experiments. The gradual disappearance of the aristocratic ranchman in favor of the intensive farmer marks an epoch. Speculation in fruit growing and fruit lands parallels similar speculations elsewhere during the last two decades. The appearance, after the day of the ranchmen, of great wheat plantations is a new and unsocial development. What availeth it a community to help ranchmen of exclusive ways to yield their sway to small farmers if the small farmers, yielding to the profits of large-scale production, quickly grow to be great landowners who buy vast tracts, crowd out villages, and leave school-houses vacant? Still, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall cannot change the nature of men—if high prices are offered for land, homes and towns and churches are apt to go.

ALL previous editions of the famous picaresque novel, "La vida del Buscón," by Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas (Putnam, for the Hispanic Society of America),

have been based upon the *editio princeps*, Saragossa, 1626. The text thus offered abounded in errors and difficulties over which Hispanists have long puzzled. However, there existed a manuscript version of the "Buscón," possessing more authority than the *princeps*. This was formerly owned by Juan José Bueno, librarian of the University of Seville, and passed from his hands to those of the Cervantist, Asensio, who in turn presented the codex to the late Cánovas del Castillo. On the death of the latter, his library was dispersed, and the fate of the manuscript is unknown. Luckily, Aureliano Fernández y Orbe, who published an edition of the "Buscón" in 1852, saw the Bueno manuscript and noted down the variants on the margin of a copy of his own edition. This copy later was acquired by Menéndez y Pelayo and forms the basis of the present work. The editor is M. R. Foulché-Delbosc, the scholar who has made so many remarkable contributions in the field of Spanish literature and bibliography. We have at last a scientific text of this masterpiece. Readers may now follow the escapades of Paul of Segovia with a minimum of difficulty. The book is printed with the artistic luxury which characterizes all the Hispanic Society's publications. Critical apparatus is lacking, and scholars interested in the variants must consult an article by M. Foulché-Delbosc entitled "Notes sur le Buscón," which has just appeared in the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XLI. A mere glance at this will show how unreliable all the former editions are and how vastly superior is the new one.

THE point of view of a Russian *ci-devant* is characteristically expounded by the anonymous author of "Russian Court Memoirs, 1914-1916" (Dutton; \$5) and of "The Fall of the Romanoffs" (Dutton; \$5). It is curious to compare the two volumes, the first of which was written before the March revolution, and was evidently intended as press-agent work in English-speaking countries. The author (or authoress? There is a strong flavor of feminine salon *causerie* about the books) knows intimately the life and gossip of the court circles in Petrograd and offers us, plain mortals, a glimpse behind the mysterious scene of erstwhile Czardom. It is not a case of piquant revelations related with malicious glee "the day after." Serenely and reverently the writer displays before us the splendor and grandeur of the now deceased order, using a major key in the first volume and a funereal minor in the second volume over the Imperial obsequies. The point of view of the *ci-devant* has not changed much with the events of 1917. The "Court Memoirs" conclude with the statement that "from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, from Vladivostok to the Baltic, the Russian people have but one aim, one wish, one aspiration: to fight for their Czar and their country till the last drop of their blood." In the "Fall of the Romanoffs" we are assured that Russia will have a new Czar, for "Russia cannot exist without a Czar." In the eyes of the author the revolution was due to certain errors on the part of the monarch, particularly on the part of the Empress, rather than to any radical transformation in the psychology of the people. He apologizes for the present aspect of the Russian people, "in their gruff uncouthness, without the softening medium of an Imperial Court and of a cultured Government," but he begs to assure the English reader that "the majority of his countrymen were in despair at the turn things were taking." The group whose sentiments the author is expressing may be not quite dead yet.

## Art

## Lombard Architecture

*Lombard Architecture.* By Arthur Kingsley Porter. Three volumes of text and atlas of 244 plates. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$50 net.

NINETY years ago the Athenæum of Brescia awarded its prize to Giulio Cordero, Count of San Quintino, for the best work on the early mediæval churches of Lombardy. These churches had long been considered wholly barbarous in style, and were generally assigned to the three centuries preceding the eleventh. With great clearness of reasoning Cordero demolished the whole fabric of the old traditions and laid the foundations for a truly scientific study of the style. To this study Mr. Porter, in his monumental work "Lombard Architecture," has made the most complete and authoritative contribution thus far produced in any language. It is extraordinary in the amount and quality of its documentation based on primary sources; in the number of hitherto unpublished monuments measured, studied, and photographed by its author, some of them apparently quite unknown even to Italian savants until Mr. Porter discovered them; and in the fact that every one of the 270 monuments described has been personally examined by him. His conclusions rest upon his own minute study and comparison of every detail of these buildings, supplementing the examination of every relevant document and inscription to which he could get access. All the fruit of the labors of his predecessors—Cordero, De Dartein, Cattaneo, Rivoira, Sant' Ambrogio, Toschi, and the rest—has been passed through the mill of his critical analysis and thoroughly tested before being accepted or rejected.

Mr. Porter is no tyro in mediæval archæology, having made himself known in 1909 by his two volumes on "Mediæval Architecture," and by a slender but important volume on "Lombard and Gothic Vaults" which appeared in 1911. This little book, embodying the results of two years of personal study of little-known churches in Lombardy, and a later series of papers in Italian on these and other churches, contributed to *Arte e Storia*, constituted the *prolegomena* to the great work he had set for himself, a thoroughgoing discussion of Lombard architecture and its monuments, now brought to completion in the volumes published.

The first volume is a general discussion of Lombard architecture under topical headings, such as Bibliography, The Master Builders, Carolingian Churches, Compound Piers, Accessory Arts, etc. Volumes II and III consist of detailed studies of 270 buildings, arranged alphabetically by places. Each building is discussed according to a rigid plan in five sections. The first deals with the literature of the monument; the second is historical, with enumeration of all authorities and sources from which the author has drawn his data; the third describes the present state of the building; the fourth discusses its decorative details; and the fifth sums up the author's conclusions as to dates. The fourth "volume" is a portfolio of 244 large plates of half-tone illustrations, comprising about a thousand subjects, the majority of them from Mr. Porter's own photographs. There are also numerous plans and sections, and a printed catalogue of the illustrations, which are not themselves labelled.

Leaving for later notice the first volume, we may observe that in Volumes II and III the major and more familiar

Lombard monuments are treated with quite satisfactory fulness. This is true also of the less commonly known monuments of the first and second rank, such as Borgo San Donino and San Silvestro at Nonantola. The archæologist will perhaps be most interested in such inconspicuous buildings as San Nazaro at Sesia, the baptistery at Oggiono, and the Pieve di Santa Maria at Sasso, all of which were practically discovered by Mr. Porter, and in the first of which he claims to have found remains of the earliest of all mediæval groin-ribbed vaults.

It would be futile for the reviewer to attempt even the briefest summary of the prodigious mass of detailed erudition in these two volumes, or of Mr. Porter's conclusions on even a few of the contentious questions which he discusses. All the evidence is given in full; documents are quoted at length in the original Latin or Italian and often translated; the procedure is rigidly scientific, and it will be difficult for any one to dispute the results who has not himself studied the monuments with like thoroughness. While to the special student these two volumes supply a veritable mine of archæological erudition, the method followed in them is too mechanical and the matter too dryly scientific to attract strongly the general reader or even the architect, while the system of reference to the illustrations by plate and number with the help of a catalogue is extremely inconvenient and awkward. It is to Volume I that the general reader will turn with the greatest interest, for here Mr. Porter sums up the results of the investigations detailed in the other two. This general synthesis, however, Mr. Porter has preferred to break up into separate syntheses grouped in Parts, Books, and Chapters. Part I deals with Structure, under topical headings and not as a whole; Part II discusses Ornament in the same way; Part III, Sculpture and Accessory Arts; Part IV, Iconography. This last part comprises four books entitled, respectively, *The Mirror of Nature*, *The Mirror of Science*, *The Mirror of Morals*, and *The Mirror of History*. The twenty-two chapters of this part are full of interest, and for many readers will possess positive fascination in the pictures they present of the North Italian mediæval mind, its imagination and its philosophy, its myths and superstitions, its bestiaries, and its moral conceptions as revealed in sculptures, pictures, and inscriptions. Mr. Porter's style in these chapters be-

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comes animated and vivid, more colorful and pictorial than the somewhat dry precision of scientific statement that characterizes other sections of this work.

If any general criticism may be ventured upon this monumental achievement of a young American scholar (Mr. Porter graduated from Yale less than twelve years ago), it must bear upon the plan of the first volume. It is to be regretted that the learned author did not include in it even a brief general survey of the history of Lombard architecture. In its place we have, in the first three parts, a series of highly interesting chapters upon particular phases or features of the style; on the master-builders, on compound piers, on ribbed vaults and ribless groined vaults, on masonry, and on ornament and sculpture, but no history of the style as a whole, no comprehensive picture of its genesis, growth, culmination, and disappearance. The material for such a history is all there, no doubt; but the reader must extract it bit by bit from the seventy-eight chapters of the volume, and arrange it to suit himself. The total absence of explanatory diagrams and illustrations from the text, and the inconvenience of reference to the unlabelled plates, increase the difficulty of this quest. The matter itself of these chapters is, however, of the highest value and interest. One may dissent from some of Mr. Porter's conclusions from his data, but one can hardly question the validity of the data themselves. For all future workers in this field these volumes must prove an invaluable repository of exact information. They exhibit a remarkable combination of patience and thoroughness such as used to be called German, with a clarity like the French, and a directness of reasoning and a freedom from bias which we like to think truly American.

## Finance

### Governing Influences

THE uncertain and vacillating movement on the Stock Exchange during the past week—with prices advancing for a day or two, then declining again, but ending as a whole not very far from the previous week's prices—has naturally raised the question, what the market was trying to foreshadow and what was its actual attitude towards the news. Taken by itself, such a movement might have signified nothing but perplexity and inability to see clearly ahead. But the movement cannot be taken by itself. In the first place, it must be considered in the light of the great advance in prices during May.

Notwithstanding the fortnight's reaction from the high mark previously attained, the past week opened with prices ranging 5 to 20 points above the year's earlier low level. As usually happens, the extreme advance of last month had "overdiscounted" even the tangible good points in the situation. Under such circumstances, the fact that the market as a whole remained stationary, during last week as a whole, might be taken as negatively a sign of firmness.

Regarded from another point of view, however, the stock market of the week has had three distinct and in some respects opposing influences bearing on it. We have had the war news, which would include the attacks on our coast-wise commerce by German submarines in American waters. We have had from Washington the further outlining of the proposal for doubling our present war taxation, and the

strong intimation that the bulk of the increase will be in the form of a war-profits tax on corporations. Along with these two elements in the week's events has come last Friday's very extraordinary crop report for June. The question might be put, which of these news developments should most powerfully influence a financial market.

The attitude of the Stock Exchange towards the war news has been interesting from the first, and it has not changed. That attitude appears to be one of conviction that Germany cannot win the war, and that therefore such temporary successes as Hindenburg's armies have achieved in France have no great bearing on the final outcome. How the stock market would have moved if the Germans had broken through to Calais, or had captured Amiens, or were now in force beyond the Marne, is a matter of conjecture.

But the Stock Exchange has apparently voiced the belief that these things would not happen. Even more striking was the market's entirely unruffled reception of the news of the submarine campaign in our own Eastern waters. Prices advanced on the very day when the first news of these exploits came in.

The doubling of the tax on corporation profits would on ordinary occasions be reflected positively in the market for the stocks of the companies affected, and the proposal has been intermittently greeted by such declines on the present occasion. The longer and permanent effect on prices, however, would naturally depend on the extent to which the announcement was unexpected, and on the extent to which such action would cut into prospects of dividends. It is possible that many holders of stocks of industrial companies were taken by surprise at the scope of the proposed increase in taxation; but the majority of the far-sighted business community must have known that, with the inevitable increase in our war expenditure, taxation would rise accordingly. Presumably, the view taken regarding such an increase would depend largely on whether the new tax were to be levied strictly on "war profits" or merely on excess earnings above a stipulated rate. The second expedient was the basis for the vicious and inequitable provisions of the present profits tax. Reversion to the war-profits tax pure and simple would place our industries on the footing of England's; which have thus far borne extremely heavy taxation without difficulty. But the market's present attitude of doubt and apprehension is a measure of uncertainty as to what Congress in the end will do, and it might logically continue until Congress acts.

As to the legitimate influence of the crop news, there is no doubt whatever. A bumper wheat crop, with a profitable market assured for it, has never in our history failed to strengthen the position on the Stock Exchange. This year, especially since last week's extraordinarily high forecast of the spring wheat yield, we have both the chance of the largest harvest on record and the certainty that wheat will be sold at a price higher than any reached in the forty-five years before this war began. The unknown quantity in the stock market is the extent to which this remarkable result will influence financial sentiment. The effect of so great an American harvest on the situation of our allies, it would be difficult to overestimate, and its effect on economic conditions at home can hardly fail to be far-reaching. Not least of all will be its bearing on the accumulating wealth of the agricultural West, from which we are likely to hear to some purpose when the next war loan is floated.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK

## POETRY AND DRAMA

- Andrews, C. E. From the Front. Appleton. \$1 net.  
 Field, R. L. Rise Up, Jennie Smith. Samuel French. 25 cents.  
 Griffin, G. E. Ballads of the Regiment. New York: Harvey Publishing Co. \$1.  
 Halman, D. The Land Where Lost Things Go. Samuel French. 25 cents.  
 Lewisohn, L. The Poets of Modern France. Translations and Criticism. Huebsch. \$1.50.  
 Pinski, D. Three Plays. Huebsch. \$1.50 net.  
 Reznikoff, C. Rhythms. Published by the Author.  
 Wisconsin Plays. Second Series. Huebsch. \$1.50 net.

## THE ARTS

- Dressler, L. R. Funeral Hymns, Anthems, and Responses for Men's Voices. Ditson. 75 cents.  
 Herbert, V. The Call to Freedom. Ditson. 50 cents.

## FICTION

- Boylesve, R. You No Longer Count. Translated by L. S. Houghton. Scribner. \$1.50 net.  
 Mulford, C. E. The Man from Bar-20. A. C. McClurg. \$1.40 net.  
 Strahan, K. C. Something that Begins with "T." Small, Maynard. \$1.35 net.  
 Titus, H. Bruce of the Circle A. Small, Maynard. \$1.35 net.  
 Wagnalls, M. The Rose-Bush of a Thousand Years. Funk & Wagnalls. 75 cents net.

## TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

- Schoenrich, O. Santo Domingo. Macmillan. \$3.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, W. C. The Expansion of Europe (1415-1789). Two volumes. Holt. \$6.50 net the set.  
 Begbie, H. Albert, Fourth Earl Grey. Doran. \$1.25 net.  
 Fiennes, G. Sea Power and Freedom. Putnam. \$3.50 net.

## NATURAL SCIENCE

- Bradford, G., 2d. The Whys and Wherefores of Navigation. Van Nostrand. \$2 net.  
 Crawford, W. J. The Reality of Psychic Phenomena. Dutton. \$2 net.

## SOCIAL SCIENCE

- Acte Final de la Session de la Havane, 22-27 Janvier, 1917, Institut Américain de Droit International. Oxford University Press.

## EDUCATION

- Blanchard, A. A., and Wade, F. B. Laboratory Manual to Accompany Foundations of Chemistry. American Book Co.  
 Cæsar. Commentaries. Edited by F. W. Kelsey. Allyn & Bacon.  
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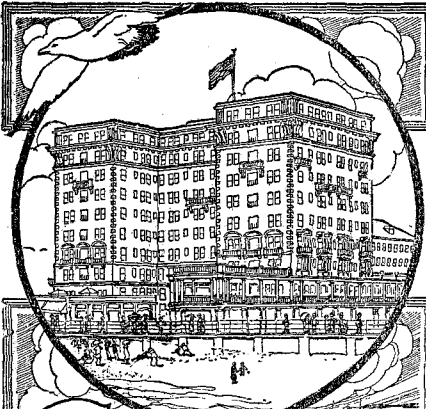
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